

A  
CONCISE HISTORY  
OF THE  
COMMENCEMENT,  
PROGRESS  
AND  
PRESENT CONDITION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN COLONIES  
IN  
LIBERIA,  
BY

SAMUEL WILKESON.

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WASHINGTON:

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1839.

# CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States."

2d. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

3d. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of this Society.

4th. There shall be a Board of Directors composed of delegates from the several State Societies, and Societies for the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States. Each Society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually into the common treasury shall be entitled to two delegates; each Society having under its care a colony shall be entitled to three delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a colony, composing at least three hundred souls, to three delegates each. Any individual contributing one thousand dollars to the Society shall be a Director for life.

5th. The Society and its Board of Directors shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. The Board shall have power to organize and administer a General Government for the several colonies in Liberia, to promulgate a uniform code of laws for such colonies, and manage the general affairs of Colonization throughout the United States, except within the States which are free colonies. They shall elect annually the Executive Committee of five, with such officers as they may deem necessary, who shall be ex officio members of the Executive Committee and Board of Directors, but if the latter case shall have a right to speak but not to vote. The said Board of Directors shall designate the salaries of the officers, and adopt such plans as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the Colonization cause. It shall be their duty to provide for the fulfilment of all existing obligations of the American Colonization Society, and nothing in the following article of these amendments shall limit or restrain their power to make such provision by an equitable assessment upon the several Societies.

6th. The expenses of the General Government in Africa shall be borne by the several associated Societies, according to the ratio to be fixed by the Board of Directors.

7th. Every such Society which has under its care a colony, associated under the General Government, shall have the right to appropriate its own funds to the colonization and care of its emigrants.

8th. The Board of Directors shall have the exclusive right to acquire territory in Africa, to negotiate treaties with the native African tribes, and to appropriate the territory and define the limits of the Colonies.

9th. The President and Vice Presidents of the Society, shall be elected annually by the Society.

10th. It shall be the duty of the President (or in his absence the Vice Presidents, according to seniority,) to preside at meetings of the Society, and to call meetings when he thinks necessary.


11th. The Board of Directors and the Executive Committee shall have power to fill up all vacancies occurring in their respective numbers during the year, and to make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary. *Provided*, That the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

12th. This Constitution may be modified or altered, upon a proposition in that effect by any of the said Societies, transmitted to each of the Societies six months before the annual meetings of the Board of Directors; *Provided*, Such proposition receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at their next annual meeting.

13th. The Representatives of the Societies present at the annual meeting adopting this Constitution shall have the power to elect Delegates to serve in the Board of Directors, and others are appointed by their Societies. The Delegates shall meet immediately after their election, organize, and enter upon their duties as a Board.

14th. All sums paid into the Treasury of the American Colonization Society shall be applied after defraying the expenses of emigration of the same, and a reasonable portion of the subsisting debts of the Society, to the settlement, use, and benefit of the colony of Monrovia; and the Agent of the Society, or Governor, shall reside therein.

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## P R E F A C E .

The subject of American Colonization in Africa has become one of interesting inquiry and discussion, but those who have not carefully watched its progress are placed in an unfavorable situation for forming correct opinions as to its merits. Exaggerated statements of zealous partizans can only mislead those who seek for facts, on which to make up their own judgments.

The official documents of the Colonization Societies, and the communications from colonists, and distinguished individuals who have visited the Colonies, which have been published in the newspapers and periodicals, have either not been preserved, or are not accessible to the thousands who are calling loudly for information on the subject.

With the design of supplying, in some measure, this demand, the following pages have been prepared. Most of the facts have been derived from published documents and communications, and are often given in the words of the writer. But it was thought unnecessary to name, in every instance, the original sources of information, in a work that professes to be little more than a compilation.

As it was the writer's design to give the work a pamphlet form, for distribution by mail, he has aimed to bring it into the smallest compass. This necessarily excluded many interesting facts, especially in relation to the recently established Colonies, as well as all notice of the proceedings of the Colonization Societies in the United States, except as these were immediately connected with their operations in Liberia.

No statement in relation to the country, the health or condition of the colonists has been admitted that was not considered by the writer as entitled to credit ; and if important facts have been omitted, his apology for this as well as for imperfections of arrangement, is the very little time which his other engagements allowed him to devote to this.

SAMUEL WILKESON,

WASHINGTON, *April 15, 1839.*

## HISTORY OF LIBERIA.

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The first emigration of colored people from the United States to Africa, was conducted by the celebrated Paul Cuffee, in 1815. This remarkable man was born at New Bedford, Massachusetts in 1759, of an African father and an aboriginal mother. His early years were spent in poverty and obscurity, but possessing a vigorous mind, by industry and perseverance, guided by practical good sense, he rose to wealth and respectability. He was largely engaged in navigation, and in many voyages to foreign countries commanded his own vessel. His desire to raise his colored brethren of this country to civil and religious liberty in the land of their forefathers, induced him to offer some of the free people of color a passage to the western coast of Africa. About forty embarked with him at Boston, and landed at Sierra Leone where they were kindly received. Only eight of these were able to pay their passage, the whole expense of the remainder, amounting to nearly \$4,000, was defrayed by the noble minded Paul Cuffee. Had he possessed the means, he might in 1816 have taken 2000 people from New England to Africa, but he died the following year.

The American Colonization Society was founded in the City of Washington in December 1816, by patriotic and benevolent gentlemen from various parts of the country, for the purpose of colonizing the free people of color of the United States.

In 1818, Messrs Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess were commissioned by this Society to proceed by the way of England to the English settlements and other ports of the western coast of Africa, to acquire information and ascertain whether a suitable territory could be obtained for the establishment of a colony. They visited all the ports from Sierra Leone to Sherbro, a distance of about 120 miles. At this last place they found a small but prosperous colony of colored people settled by John Kizzel. This man had been brought from Africa when very young, and sold as a slave in South Carolina; during the revolutionary war he joined the British, and at its close was taken to Nova Scotia, from whence, about the close of the last century, he sailed with a number of

other colored persons to Africa. Here he was prospered in trade, built a church and preached the gospel to his countrymen. By Kizzel and his people the agents were kindly received and hospitably entertained. After having fulfilled their arduous duties, they embarked for the United States, but Mr. Mills died on the passage.

The missionary character and efforts of this man were thus referred to in a public discourse by the Rev. Leonard Bacon.

"A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend 'my brother, you and I are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world.'

Not many years after, a ship, returning from a distant quarter of the globe, paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him—and they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man, who, in the ardor of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth, but he had redeemed his pledge; and at this hour his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country.

This man was Samuel John Mills, and all who know his history will say, that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations, nor the results of his efforts. He traversed our land, like a ministering spirit, silently and yet effectually from the hill country of the pilgrims to the valley of the Mississippi.

He wandered on his errands of benevolence from city to city, pleading now with the patriot, for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the west, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and to effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee, [Hawaii] and died in the service of Africa."

Mr. Burgess gave so satisfactory a report of his mission, that the society, was encouraged to proceed in its enterprise.

By an Act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1819, the President of the United States was authorized to restore to their own country, any Africans captured from American or foreign vessels, attempting to introduce them into the United States, in violation of law, and to provide by the establishment of a suitable agency on the African coast, for their reception, subsistence and comfort, until they could return to their relatives, or derive support from their own exertions. It was determined to make the station of the Government Agency, on the coast of Africa, the site of the colonial settlement; and to incorporate in the settlement, all the blacks delivered over by our ships of war, to the American Agent as soon as the requisite preparations should be completed for their accommodations.

1820.

In February of this year the Rev. Samuel Bacon went to Africa as

principal agent of the United States. He embarked at New York in the ship *Elizabeth*, chartered by Government, and was accompanied by John P. Bankson, assistant, Dr. Samuel A. Crozer, agent of the American Colonization Society, and 88 emigrants, who, in consideration of their passage and other aid from government, agreed to prepare suitable accommodations for the reception of the Africans who might be delivered over to the protection of the agent.

This expedition proceeded by way of Sierra Leone to the Island of Sherbro; and the emigrants landed at Campelar, the place which had been chosen for the site of the proposed settlement, while the sloop of war *Cyane*, which sailed from New York in company with the *Elizabeth*, was ordered to cruise on the coast for the prevention of the slave trade.

Mr. Bacon after encountering great fatigue and many vexatious delays in fruitless negotiations with the natives, for the purchase of lands, found himself obliged to turn his whole attention to the care of the emigrants. Campelar proved to be very unhealthy on account of the low marshy ground and bad water. These, with the total absence of accommodations, the want of proper regulations, and the continued fatigue and exposure, incident to their situation, soon spread disease in a frightful form among the people. Almost the whole care of the sick, as well as of those in health, finally devolved on Mr. Bacon. But, notwithstanding he labored more, was more exposed to heat and wet, hunger and thirst than any one, yet he continued in health until all the rest, except six or eight, had become sick. At length he was attacked by the fever, when there was no one to administer medicine, or allay his sufferings by the kind and assiduous attentions which he had, for weeks, bestowed on others; and after an illness of about a fortnight, he expired, a worthy martyr to the glorious cause of African regeneration.

A short time before his death he wrote in his journal, after describing his own labors and the sufferings of the people, "Is it asked do I yet say colonize Africa? I reply, yes. He that has seen ninety naked Africans landed together in America, and remarked the effects of the change of climate through the first year, has seen them as sickly as these. Every sudden and unnatural transition produces illness. The surpassing fertility of the African soil, the mildness of the climate during a great part of the year, the numerous commercial advantages, the stores of fish and herds of animals to be found here, invite her scattered children home. As regards myself, I counted the cost of engaging in this service, before I left America. I came to these shores *to die*, and any thing better than death, is better than I expect."

All the agents and more than twenty of the emigrants died; the remainder regained their health in a few weeks.

1821.

Early in this year four new agents were sent out with supplies and a small number of emigrants. These, with the survivors of the *Elizabeth*, were established at Sierra Leone, until a more eligible site than Sherbro could be selected.

Messrs. Andrews and E. Bacon visited different points on the coast, but returned to Sierra Leone without having made permanent arrangements, where during the summer, two of the new agents died, and one returned sick to the United States.

The total failure of their first effort to establish a colony in Africa, attended as it was with the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, and other discouraging circumstances, only tended to arouse the energies of the society to more vigorous and determined action.

In November another agent, Dr. Ayres, was instructed to visit Sierra Leone, and after ascertaining the condition of the surviving emigrants, to proceed down the coast in search of a suitable place for a settlement.

Capt. Stockton, with the United States schooner *Alligator*, was also ordered to the coast of Africa with instructions to assist Dr. Ayres in making proper arrangements for the emigrants. These gentlemen proceeded to Cape Montserado, about 250 miles from Sierra Leone to obtain, if possible, territory for the colony. They urged negotiations for several days with the chiefs of the country, and by the address and firmness of Capt. Stockton they finally succeeded in obtaining a valuable tract of land including Cape Montserado.

1822.

After the purchase of this territory was effected, Dr. Ayres employed two small schooners belonging to the colony in removing the emigrants from Sierra Leone to their new settlement. In the mean time the Dey people, of whom the purchase had been made, began to show signs of hostility and of the insincerity of their engagements.

On the arrival of the first division of emigrants, consisting chiefly of single men, the natives forbade their landing. The smallest of the two islands at the mouth of the Montserado, had been obtained by special purchase of John S. Mills, at that time the occupant and proprietor; on which the people and property were safely debarked, without any actual opposition.

Dr. Ayres attempted in vain to conciliate the natives, (who seemed bent on expelling the colonists,) and was so far deceived by their imposing offers of accommodation as to trust himself in their power, when they took him prisoner and detained him several days for the purpose of compelling him to annul the bargain.

The island on which the people had landed, was entirely desti-

tute of fresh water and fire wood, and afforded no shelter, except the decayed thatch of half a dozen diminutive huts ; thus exposed in an insalubrious situation, several were again attacked by intermittent fever, from which they had but a few months before recovered at Sierra Leone.

Happily, a secret *exparte* arrangement was, at this critical period, settled with King George, (who resided on the Cape, and claimed a sort of jurisdiction over the northern district of the peninsula of Montserado) in virtue of which the settlers were permitted to pass across the river, and commence the laborious task of clearing away the heavy forest which covered the site of their intended town. They pursued their labor with animated exertions, had made considerable progress in the erection of 22 buildings, when a circumstance occurred which obscured their brightening prospects and kindled around them the flame of war.

A small vessel, prize to an English cruiser, bound to Sierra Leone, with about 30 liberated Africans, put into the roads for a supply of water, and had the misfortune to part her cable and come ashore within a short distance of Perseverance Island. The natives pretend to a prescriptive right, which interest never fails to enforce in its utmost extent, to seize and appropriate the wrecks and cargoes of vessels stranded, under whatever circumstances, on their coast. The English schooner having drifted upon the main land about one mile from the extremity of the cape, and a small distance below George's town, was immediately claimed as his property. His people rushed to the beach with their arms, to sustain this claim ; and attempting to board the wreck, were fired upon by the prize master and compelled to desist. In the mean time the aid of the settlers was sent for, which, from an opinion of the extreme danger of their English visitants, they immediately afforded. A boat was manned, and despatched to their relief ; and a brass field piece, stationed on the Island, discharged upon the assailants, when they hastily retired to their town, with the loss of two of their number killed, and several disabled. The English officer, his crew, and the Africans, were brought off in safety ; but suffered the total loss of their vessel, with most of the stores and other property on board of her.

By some accident in discharging the cannon, fire was communicated to the store house of the colony, and most of the provisions, ammunition and utensils were destroyed.

The exasperated natives, but for their dread of the big guns, would have attacked the settlers and destroyed them at once ; as it was, they threw down the frames of their houses and continued to fire occasional shots at individuals who exposed themselves. This confined the settlers to the island until they were obliged to go up the river after wood and water. On their return, their boat, though strongly manned and armed, was fired upon by the natives who lay concealed ; two of their men were mortally wounded and two slightly. Their situation was now most alarming ; compelled to



fight for every drop of water; their stores and ammunition destroyed; their number reduced by sickness, and surrounded by a highly incensed and savage foe bent on their destruction. But deliverance arose from a quarter the least expected, and in a manner so remarkable as to impress all minds with a grateful sense of the interposition of Providence. Ba Cara, the chief of a settlement on the neighboring island, who was friendly to the colonists, now applied to King Boatswain in their behalf. This famous chief who, though living in the interior, had often assumed a dictatorial authority in the affairs of the maritime tribes, promptly responded to this application from his ally and appeared at the cape, not, as he said, to pronounce sentence, but to do justice; and he had actually brought along with him a force sufficient to carry his decisions into immediate effect. He convened the head chiefs of the neighborhood, sent for the agents of the colony, and after allowing both parties to set forth their claims and grievances, briefly told the Deys that having sold their land and accepted part of the payment they must abide the consequences; that their refusal to receive the balance of the purchase money, did not annul or affect the bargain. "Let the Americans," said he, in a voice that was seldom disobeyed, "have their lands immediately." Then turning to the agents, "I promise you protection. If these people give you further trouble, send for me; and I swear if they oblige me to come again to quiet them, I will do it to purpose, by taking their heads from their shoulders, as I did old King George's, on my last visit to the coast to settle disputes."

Whatever might be thought of this decision, no one presumed to oppose it, and the settlers resumed their labors without molestation.

On the 28th of April, their whole company having arrived from Sierra Leone, the emigrants passed over from the island, and took formal possession of Cape Montserado.

The excitement of this occasion, the pious gratitude and encouraging hopes which it inspired, could not long divert their attention from the difficulties which still surrounded them.

The houses were yet destitute of roofs, for which the materials were to be sought in the almost impenetrable forests of the country. The rainy season had already commenced. The island, if much longer occupied by all the Colonists, must prove the grave of many. Sickness was becoming prevalent, and both the Agents were among the sufferers. The store of provisions was scanty, and all other stores nearly exhausted! The active hostility of the natives had been arrested, but there was reason to fear its return. In this gloomy state of affairs, Dr. Ayres determined to abandon the enterprise, and remove the people and stores to Sierra Leone. The society's agent, Mr. Wiltberger, convinced that if the Colonists removed, the land purchased could not be recovered, opposed this project, and at his instance, the Colonists rejected it; choosing

rather to brave the perils of their situation than to seek present safety and ease by the abandonment of that cause which they believed fraught with blessings to their race. A small number accompanied Dr. Ayres to Sierra Leone. The remainder set about the completion of their houses with industry and perseverance; and after having endured great trials and hardships, were enabled in July, entirely to abandon the island and place themselves beneath their own humble dwellings on the Cape.

Soon after, Mr. Wiltberger returned to the United States, leaving the settlement in charge of Elijah Johnson, an intelligent and honest emigrant.

The natives having treacherously waited the departure of Boat-swain to the interior, and that of the Agents on their voyage to the United States, put themselves in an attitude of hostility, and prohibited the conveyance of supplies to the Colony from the surrounding country. At that season of the year the Colonists could not obtain a supply of provisions from the soil; no vessels were expected on the coast, and the most economical use of the stores on hand, could not make them last longer than a few weeks.—In the midst of these trying circumstances and alarming prospects, relief came as unexpected as it was necessary.

In August a vessel arrived from Baltimore with stores for the settlement, and 51 emigrants, part of whom were recaptured Africans sent out by the United States Government. The Rev. Jehudi Ashmun, whose name will be honored wherever the history of Liberia is known, and exalted public services are valued, came out as superintendent of this expedition. To his surprise and regret, he found that both the Agents had left the country, and, though he had not contemplated remaining in the colony, he felt constrained, in view of its helpless condition and the wants of the people, to assume the charge of affairs.

Owing to bad weather, and the want of suitable boats, some weeks were consumed in landing the emigrants and stores, and great difficulty was experienced in providing for the accommodation of so large a number of persons.

In the mean time, the Agent had lost not a moment in ascertaining the external relations of the settlement and the temper of its neighbors. He visited some of the principal chiefs, whom he thought it safe to bind to a pacific policy, by encouraging them to open a trade with the Colony—by forming with them new amicable alliances, and receiving the sons and subjects of as many as possible to instruct in the language and arts of civilization.

All his attempts at reconciliation were, however, in vain. It soon became evident that the natives, under the conviction that their new neighbors were hostile to the slave trade, were determined to extirpate them.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in that series of providential events connected with the history of the Colony was, that a native chief, in the councils of those who were plotting the

destruction of the settlement, should have secretly, and without any known motive, determined to serve the cause of the Americans by communicating to the Agent the plans and purposes of his enemies. The person to whom the colony was indebted for these signal services, (for which he has never been sufficiently rewarded,) was Bob Gray, a king of the Bassa tribe, since known as the subject of many interesting anecdotes related by the Agents of the Colonization Society.\*

Aware of his danger, the Agent set about preparing for defence. The little town was closely environed, except on the side of the river, with the heavy forest in the bosom of which it was situated—thus giving to a savage enemy an important advantage, of which it became absolutely necessary to deprive him, by enlarging, to the utmost, the cleared space about the buildings.

This labor was immediately undertaken and carried on without any other intermission than that caused by sickness of the people, and the performance of other duties equally connected with the safety of the place. The town was enclosed with pickets, cannon mounted, the Colonists mustered, and officers appointed—all this labor was performed under the greatest disadvantages; not only a want of teams, but of mechanics and tools.

Only 27 native Americans and 13 African youth, were capable of bearing arms, and these wholly untrained to their use.—There were but forty muskets, much out of repair, and no fixed ammunition. Of one brass and five iron guns, the former only was fit for service, and four of the latter required carriages. The rains were immoderate and nearly constant. In addition to other fatiguing labors was that of maintaining the nightly watch, which, from the number of sentinels necessary for the common safety, shortly became more exhausting than all the other burdens of the people. No less than 20 individuals were every night detailed for this duty, after the 31st of August.

At the commencement of the third week, after his arrival, the Agent was attacked with fever—and three days after experienced the greater calamity of perceiving the health of his wife assailed with symptoms of a still more alarming character.

The sickness from this period made a rapid progress among the last division of emigrants. On the 1st of September, 12 were wholly disabled. The burdens thus thrown upon their brethren accelerated the work of the climate so rapidly, that on the 10th of this month, of the whole expedition, only two remained fit for any kind of service. The Agent was enabled, by a merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, to maintain a difficult struggle with his disorder for four weeks; in which period, after a night of

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\*One day when sitting with the Governor in his library, he fixed his eyes upon the books in a thoughtful mood and said, "I wish America man steal me when little boy." Why so? asked the Governor. "I learn to read book, know too much, and be a great man."

delirium and suffering, it was not an unusual circumstance for him to be able to spend an entire morning in laying off and directing the execution of the public works.

The plan of defence adopted was to station five heavy guns at the different angles of a triangle which should circumscribe the whole settlement—each of the angles resting on a point of ground sufficiently commanding to enfilade two sides of the triangle, and sweep a considerable extent of ground beyond the lines. The guns at these stations were to be covered by musket proof triangular stockades, of which any two should be sufficient to contain all the settlers in their wings. The brass piece and two swivels mounted on travelling carriages, were stationed in the centre, ready to support the post which might be exposed to the heaviest attack.—After completing these detached works, it was the intention of the Agent, had the enemy allowed the time, to join all together by a paling to be carried quite round the settlement;—and in the event of a yet longer respite, to carry on, as rapidly as possible, under the protection of the nearest fortified point, the construction of the Martello tower; which, as soon as completed, would nearly supersede all the other works; and by presenting an impregnable barrier to the success of any native force, probably become the instrument of a general and permanent pacification. Connected with these measures of safety, was the extension to the utmost, of the cleared space about the settlement, still leaving the trees and brush-wood, after being felled, to spread the ground with a tangled hedge, through which nothing should be able to make its way, except the shot from the batteries.

This plan was fully communicated to the most intelligent of the people; which, in the event of the disability or death of the Agent, they might, it was hoped, so far carry into effect as to ensure the preservation of the settlement.

Their defences were still very far from complete when, on the 7th of November, intelligence was received at the Cape that the enemy were ready for an assault on the settlement, which was ordered in four days, but the plan of the attack was not ascertained. Mr. Ashmun, was only able, with great effort, to inspect the works, give directions and encouragement to the people, and arrange them in order of action. They lay on their arms, with matches lighted, through the night. The most wakeful vigilance was continued during the following nights, and patrols kept up through the day. Early on the morning of the 11th the attack was made by above 800 men. In consequence of the sickness of the agent, and his inability to enforce his orders personally, one pass had been neglected to be properly defended. By this the enemy approached, drove the picket guard, delivered their fire and rushed forward with their spears; several men were killed by the first fire, and the remainder driven from their cannon without discharging it. Had the enemy, at this instant, pressed their advantage, it is hardly conceivable that they should have failed of

entire success. Avidity for plunder was their defeat. Four houses in that outskirts of the settlement, had fallen into their hands, and while they rushed impetuously upon the pillage, Ashmun rallied his broken forces and discharging the brass field piece (double-shotted with ball and grape,) produced great havoc among the enemy, and brought their whole body to a stand; a few musketeers passing around upon their flank increased their consternation, and in about twenty minutes after the colonists rallied, the enemy began to recoil. The colonists regained their post, and instantly brought a long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. A savage yell was raised, which filled the surrounding forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away, and the whole host disappeared. At 8 o'clock the well known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes was sounded, and many small parties were seen at a distance directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe, employed in re-conveying a party across the mouth of the Montserado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot and several men killed.

In the engagement the colonists had three men and one woman killed, two men and two women severely wounded, and seven children captured.

Although thus completely discomfited, the natives did not abandon their design of exterminating the colony. They determined to renew the attack with additional forces, collecting auxiliaries from as many of the neighboring tribes as they could induce to unite with them. The colonists, on their side, were equally on the alert, and made incredible exertions to prepare for repelling the assailants. They reduced the extent of their works, and thus rendered them more defensible. But the number of effective men was less, being only thirty.

The attack was made on the 30th of November, and incomparably better concerted than the former one. It took place almost simultaneously on three sides of the fortifications. The assailants displayed a tact and skill that would have done credit to more experienced warriors. But they were received with that bravery and determination which the danger of total destruction, in case of defeat, was calculated to inspire, and were finally defeated with severe loss. The garrison had one man killed, and two badly wounded. The skill and talent, and energy of Mr. Ashmun, mainly secured the triumph. He received three bullets through his clothes, but was not wounded.

This action, which continued an hour and a half, and was renewed three times with the utmost desperation, was still more interesting in its details than the other.

The wounded suffered much for want of surgical aid. There was not even a lancet or probe in the settlement; a penknife was substituted for the first, and a priming wire for the last.

An alarm, the night after the battle, induced an officer of the

guard to open a fire of musketry and cannon, which providentially brought relief to the settlement. The English colonial schooner *Prince Regent*, bound for Cape Coast, with Major Laing, the celebrated African traveller, and midshipman Gordon on board, was then in the offing, a little past the cape. So unusual a circumstance as a midnight cannonading induced the vessel to lay by till morning, when the officers communicated with the shore, and learning the situation of the colonists, generously offered any assistance in their power. Major Laing sought the chiefs, found them tired of the war, and disposed for peace. They signed a truce, and agreed to submit all their differences with the colony to the governor of Sierra Leone.

Midshipman Gordon and eleven seamen remained at the settlement on the departure of the *Prince Regent*, having generously volunteered their services to assist the colonists in their extremity. The lamented Gordon and eight of the seamen fell victims to the climate in less than four weeks after the vessel sailed.

On the 8th of December, a large privateer schooner, under Columbian colors, came to anchor. The commander, Captain Welsey, and several officers, who were natives of the United States, rendered important aid to Mr. Ashmun. By assistance obtained from this vessel, the settlement, in a few weeks, was put in a better state of defence; while the sufferings of the sick and wounded were alleviated by the kind attentions of a skilful surgeon.

### 1823.

Mr. Ashmun's health, which had been improving for several weeks, sunk again under excessive exertion, and he continued for some time in a state of hopeless debility. He was at length restored by an extraordinary prescription of a self-taught French doctor, who arrived in a transient vessel at the cape, so that by the middle of February he was able to resume his active duties. Previous to this time two of the captive children had been recovered, and a few weeks after, the remaining five were gratuitously restored. So kindly and tenderly were they treated by the old women to whose care they had been committed that they were unwilling to leave them, and their foster mothers were equally reluctant to give them up.

At this period the colonists were in a sad condition; their provisions were mostly consumed; their trade nearly exhausted; their lands untilld; their houses without roofs, except of thatch; the rainy season was approaching; and the people, as a natural consequence of their late irregular life, had, in many instances, become indolent and improvident, and finally were experiencing all that derangement in their affairs which is produced by a protracted war. In these desponding circumstances, they were cheered by the arrival, on the 31st of March, of the United States

ship *Cyane*, R. T. Spencer, Esq., commander. This gentleman proceeded to make the most active exertions for the benefit of the colony. He supplied their wants; repaired the agent's house; commenced and nearly completed the Martello tower, before the 21st of April, when the rapid spread of the fever among his crew compelled him to sail for the United States. Dr. Dix, surgeon of the *Cyane*, had already died. "This lamented man had watched, with interest, the progress of the colony from its earliest existence, and had visited and administered relief to the emigrants when at Sherbro. The tears of a grateful people watered his grave.

The next victim was Richard Seaton, first clerk of the *Cyane*, an accomplished and promising young man, who voluntarily remained to assist the agent. The third was the lamented Dashiell, left in command of the schooner *Augusta*, which had been fitted up by Capt. Spence at Sierra Leone for the defence of the colony. Of the crew of the *Cyane*, no less than 40 died soon after their arrival in the United States. It is painful to record the death of so many whose generous devotion to the interests of the colony claims for them our spontaneous gratitude.

The successful exertions of the officers and crew of the *Cyane* are the more remarkable from the fact that they were enfeebled by a cruise of several months in the West Indies. Capt. Spence especially was laboring under great debility.

The Board of Managers, aware of the weak state of the settlement had, early in the preceding winter, determined to despatch a reinforcement of emigrants, with stores, under the direction of Dr. Ayres, whose improved health now permitted him to resume his duties, as principal agent and physician in the colony. This gentleman embarked at Baltimore, on board the brig *Oswego*, with sixty-one colored passengers, on the 16th of April, and arrived at Cape Montserado on the 24th of May.

On the arrival of Dr. Ayres, as principal agent, both of the government and the society, Mr. Ashmun was relieved from the weight of care and labor, which had nearly worn him out. Dr. Ayres entered with zeal and vigor upon his official duties. The erection of houses, the surveying and distribution of land to the new settlers, and the general care of the government, gave him unceasing employment. The system of government was improved, arrangements were made for the better disposition of supplies from the public stores; the site of the town was accurately surveyed and judiciously laid off; and distribution was made of the lots and plantations.

Some of the early settlers, however, were dissatisfied with these arrangements. As the founders and defenders of the colony they considered themselves entitled to peculiar privileges; and earnestly contended for their right to retain the ground upon which they had originally fixed their habitations. The health of Dr. Ayres soon began to fail under the combined effect of the climate and his incessant labors, and in a few months he was reduced to such a

state, that his recovery, in Africa, was considered hopeless; accordingly in December, he took passage for the United States in the ship *Fidelity* of Baltimore, and the government was again thrown upon Mr. Ashmun.

He had been placed in a most painful and embarrassing situation by the arrival of Dr. Ayres. He not only found himself superseded in the government, but had the additional mortification to learn that his drafts had been dishonored, and no provision made to remunerate him for past services, or provide for his present wants. No man possessed a nicer sense of honor than Ashmun. Finding his services under valued; and even the confidence of the society withheld, he was justly indignant; although his attachment to the cause remained steadfast. Seeing the principal agent leaving the colony, the colonists in a state of insubordination, Ashmun, with true christian magnanimity, forgetting his own wrongs, resolved to remain and save, if possible, from destruction, a cause in which he had done and suffered so much. The prudence of his measures, and the firmness of his conduct, prevented any immediate outbreak of violence; but causes of dissatisfaction existed, and the spirit of insubordination had acquired too much strength to be easily eradicated. Their stock of provision was low, the native rice very scarce and dear, on account of the supplies required by the slave vessels, which, at this time, were on the coast in great numbers. Worse than all, several of the principal colonists avowed their determination to leave uncultivated the land assigned them, and to give up all further labor or attempts at improvements until their grievances were redressed by the Board in the United States, to which they had appealed. It was at that time one of the regulations of the society, that every adult male emigrant should, while receiving rations from the public store, contribute the labor of two days in a week to some work of public utility.

About twelve of the colonists not only cast off the restraints of the colony, but exerted themselves to seduce others from obedience. On the 13th of December, Mr. Ashmun published the following notice:

"There are in the colony more than a dozen healthy persons, who will receive no more provisions out of the public store until they earn them." This notice proved inefficient, except as it gave occasion for the expression of more seditious sentiments and a bolder violation of the laws.

On the 19th, Mr. Ashmun directed the rations of the offending individuals to be stopped. The next morning they assembled in a riotous manner at the agency house, and endeavoured by angry denunciations to drive the Governor from his purpose; finding him inflexible, they proceeded to the store house, where the commissary was at that moment issuing rations for the week, and seizing each a portion of the provisions, hastened to their respective houses.

The same day, Mr. Ashmun addressed a circular to all the co-



lonists, in which he made so powerful an appeal to their patriotism and to their consciences, and so decidedly expressed his own determination to maintain authority, that the disaffected returned to their duty. The leader of the sedition confessed his error, and by the rectitude of his after life, nobly redeemed his character.

1824.

On the 13th of February, the ship *Cyrus* arrived with 105 emigrants, mostly from Petersburg, Virginia. The accession of this company was hailed by all as a joyful event—especially as it comprised an unusual amount of intelligence, industry and morality. But the cordial greetings and kind interchanges of friendly offices, which made this a scene of happiness and hope, were soon succeeded by sadness and gloom. Within four weeks all the new emigrants were attacked by the fever. There was no regular physician in the colony, the number of buildings bore no proportion to the number of emigrants, and by a strange neglect, the provisions supplied for the expedition were wholly inadequate, while the dispensary contained little that was suitable for the sick.

Rev. Lot Cary, a colonist, who had before rendered important service to the colony, undertook the care of the sick; and, indebted solely for his medical skill to his good sense, observation, and what experience he had gained in the colony, his success was remarkable. Only three died.

All these evils were light compared with those which the spirit of revolt and anarchy threatened to bring upon the colony. Deficient in education and ill informed on many of the important relations and duties of human society, dazzled and misled by false notions of freedom, disappointed in some of their expectations, and tried by affliction, a few individuals still continued utterly to disregard the authority of the Agent, and sought to persuade others to imitate their example.

On the 19th of March, the rations were reduced one half, as it was found, that so diminished, the supplies would last not more than five weeks. This act of prudence was counted by the malcontents an act of oppression, and they reproached the Agent in his presence.

On the morning of the 22d, Mr. Ashmun assembled the people and represented to them the advantages and necessity of subordination, the evils which had already resulted to them from disobedience, especially that their neglect to cultivate the rich soil which surrounded them, had reduced them to their present want—reminded them of the expenditures, toils and sacrifices made by the society and its officers in their behalf, the distinguished privileges they enjoyed, and the bright prospects in reversion, urged upon them the obligation of their oaths, and declared his determination

to enforce the laws by a rigid exercise of his authority, unless they immediately returned to their allegiance.

Most of the settlers tacitly assented to the truth and justice of this address, and Mr. Ashmun adopted every measure in his power to relieve and preserve the colony, but the colonists afforded him no vigorous support. The spirit of disorganization was at work, deranging all the movements of government. The Agent had some months before declared to the board, that in his opinion "the evil was incurable by any of the remedies which fall within their existing provisions." He now prepared and forwarded despatches containing his reflections on the state of the colony, and the increasing elements of turbulence and danger, threatening its speedy ruin.

Soon after this, he was obliged to leave the Cape on account of his health, which, under his accumulated trials, had become entirely prostrated; appointing E. Johnson superintendent of affairs, he sailed for Cape De Verd Islands on the 1st of April.

The remonstrances sent home by some of the colonists, and the communications of the Agent had convinced the Board, that immediate and strong measures were required to prevent the subversion of the Colony, and the total extinction of their hopes. They wrote a reply to the remonstrance, and an address to the colonists generally, in which they declared that the agents must be obeyed, or the colony abandoned. They asserted their determination to punish offenders, while they assisted the obedient, and affectionately encouraged all the sober and virtuous to maintain the peace, and guard, as their very life, the authority of the laws.

These documents were scarcely despatched when letters were received from the colony, charging Mr. Ashmun with oppression, the neglect of obvious duties, the desertion of his post, and the seizure and abduction of the public property. These charges were confirmed by various verbal reports of officers of the United States Navy, and others who had touched at Montserado, soon after his departure, and there listened to these calumnies.

The Board applied to the Government to send a vessel to the colony with some individual duly commissioned, both by the government and the society, to examine the condition of the colony, redress grievances, and correct abuses. The Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, was appointed to this service, and embarked at Norfolk, late in June, 1824, in the United States schooner Porpoise, Capt. Skinner.

Arriving at the Cape De Verds, 21th of July, Mr. Gurley there found Mr. Ashmun, to whom he communicated the object of his visit to Africa, and the extent of the powers with which he was clothed. Ashmun, who desired the fullest investigation of his official conduct, returned by the Porpoise to the colony, where she arrived on the 13th of August. On a full inquiry, Mr. Gurley was not only satisfied of the integrity and purity of Mr. Ashmun's

character, but of his firmness and sound judgment, as well as the admirable adaptedness of his talents to the extraordinary crises through which he had passed.

Both these gentlemen applied themselves with the utmost diligence to removing all causes of complaint. Widows, orphans, the infirm and helpless, were provided for. A large share in the management of their political affairs was conceded to the colonists.

The decisions of the commissioners, with the plan of government to be recommended to the board, were read and explained to the colonists, which, without a dissenting voice, they pronounced satisfactory; and being assembled in the first rude house of worship ever erected in the colony, they solemnly pledged themselves before God, to support the constitution agreed upon, and faithfully to sustain the great trust committed to their hands. Mutual confidence was completely restored between the people and the agent, and if the colonists in the extremity of their suffering had injured Mr. Ashmun, their error was atoned for by the most respectful subordination to his authority, and the kindest regard for his personal comfort during his future stay in Africa.

This period may be considered as almost the commencement of their establishment. Contentment, industry, peace and general comfort now succeeded to the sufferings, disappointments, alarms and dissensions, which had prevailed in the colony, during the previous four years of its struggling existence.

The commissioner left, on his return to the United States, the 22d of August. Mr. Ashmun explored the country, and finding a rich tract of land lying on the south side of the St. Paul's river, possessing great advantages for agricultural purposes, he opened a negotiation with the kings of the country for the purchase, and succeeded in obtaining twenty miles on the river, and from three to nine miles back. On this tract a town was laid out on a beautiful point six miles from Monrovia, which was at first called St. Paul's, but afterward changed to Caldwell.

## 1825.

On the 13th of March, the brig Hunter from Norfolk, Va. with 66 emigrants arrived. These emigrants were principally farmers and settled at Caldwell, preferring this situation, although an unbroken forest, and exposed to the depredations of the wild Africans, on account of the rich soil. The fever, which attacked nearly all, within a month after their arrival in the colony, was greatly protracted and increased in violence from the want of proper medical treatment. The Board had failed to procure a physician. Lot Carey again interposed his good offices and acted as their friend and physician, and was very successful in saving his patients.

Recovered from the seasoning fever, these emigrants applied

themselves with so much industry, that soon their farms extended a mile and a half on the rich flats of the river, and they were enjoying health and plenty.

At this period the slave trade was carried on extensively within sight of Monrovia. Fifteen vessels were engaged in it at the same time, almost under the guns of the settlement; and in July of this year, a contract was existing for eight hundred slaves to be furnished, in the short space of four months, within eight miles of the Cape. Four hundred of these were to be purchased for two American traders. The Agent had no power either to arrest or punish these pirates, but he determined to employ the whole influence of the colony against this accursed traffic. He explored the whole line of coast from Cape Mount to Trade Town, and sought, by treaties with the chiefs, to effect the exclusion of the slave traders from the country, while, within the legitimate jurisdiction of the colony, he determined to enforce the laws against them with the utmost rigor.

In the month of August, a flagrant piracy was perpetrated by the crew of a Spanish schooner, (the *Clarida*,) employed in the slave trade, on an English brig, lying at anchor off the town of Monrovia. Mr. Ashmun did not hesitate as to the course of duty. Ample testimony was taken to prove the piracy. The English brig was placed under his direction. A call upon the colonial militia was promptly responded to, and an expedition was immediately set on foot against the Spanish factory a few miles north of Monrovia.

The Spanish schooner was not to be found, the factory with a small amount of property, and a number of slaves were captured without resistance, and the native chiefs bound themselves to assist in no way in collecting or transporting out of the country any of the slaves, bargained for by the commander of the *Clarida*.

In proof of the good discipline of the colonists, and their sense of justice towards the natives, it may be stated that not a single instance of disorderly conduct occurred among the fifty-four men who composed this expedition. The natives, into whose country they had marched, expressed their amazement at the regard paid to their persons and property, and several of the chiefs sent deputations to thank the governor for his justice and humanity.

About this time a most daring robbery was committed by a Krooman on the public stores at Monrovia, and these offences having become of frequent occurrence, it was deemed important to arrest the offender. A party of militia was ordered to accompany the sheriff to the Kroo town and to demand redress. Two or three of the party fell behind, one of whom fired at a Krooman and mortally wounded him. Ashmun had the man arrested and tried by a jury. It was proved on trial that the offender had misunderstood his orders, he was however sentenced to six months imprisonment or a fine of one hundred bars, which sum was paid over to the family of the deceased and was perfectly satisfactory to the Kroo nation.

A short time after the destruction of the Spanish slave factory, Mr. Ashmun discovered that a plan had been formed between the Captain of the Clarida, some of the native chiefs, and a French slave dealer on the St. Paul's, for violating the engagement by which the slaves originally destined for the pirate, were to be delivered over to the colony. He was induced, in consequence, to break up two other slave factories, and to offer to the chiefs concerned in the transactions of the Clarida, a bounty of ten dollars for each slave, which, in pursuance of their agreement, they should resign up to the colonial agent. The consequence of this was, that *one hundred and sixteen slaves* were soon received into the colony as freemen.

At the close of this year, the Agent presented to the managers a complete view of the condition, relations, character and prospects of the colony. He stated that health had been for some months restored; that adults, resident for some time in Africa, preferred its climate to any other, and enjoyed as good health as in America—and that the settlers generally lived in a style of neatness and comfort. Two commodious chapels, each sufficient to contain several hundred worshippers, had been erected and consecrated to God. A small schooner had been built and put upon the rice trade between Cape Montserado and the Factories at the leward, adapted to the passage of the bars of the rivers on that part of the coast. The militia of the settlement was well organized, equipped and disciplined. In addition to the valuable tract of country purchased on the St. Paul's, the right of occupancy and use had been obtained to the lands at the Young Sesters, and at Grand Bassa, and Factories established at both of those places. Five schools, exclusive of Sunday schools, were in operation.

The people were obedient to the laws; their moral character had improved; the preponderance of example and of influence was on the side of virtue; and the colony was, in *reality*, a christian community. He observed that as "the great secret of the improving circumstances of the colony is in the controlling influence of religion on the temper and happiness of the people, I should greatly wrong the cause of truth by suppressing a topic of such leading importance. The holy author of our religion and salvation has made the hearts of a large portion of these people the temples of the Divine Spirit. The faith of the everlasting gospel has become to them the animating spring of action, the daily rule of life, the source of immortal hope, and of ineffable enjoyment. Occurrences of a favorable or desponding aspect are regarded as dispensations of the Almighty, and followed with corresponding feelings of gratitude or humiliation.

He testified to the good effects of the colony on the neighboring tribes. They had been treated as men and brethren of a common family; they had been taught that one of the ends proposed in founding civilized settlements on their shore was to do them good; they had learnt something of the great and interesting truths of the

Christian religion—and sixty of their children had been adopted as children of the colony. No man of the least consideration in the country would desist from his importunities, till at least one of his sons was fixed in some settler's family.

1826.

On the 4th of January, the brig *Vine*, with 34 emigrants, a missionary, (the Rev. Calvin Holton,) and a printer, accompanied by the Rev. Horace Sessions, an agent of the Society, sailed from Boston and arrived at Monrovia on the 7th of February. A printing press, with necessary appendages, a valuable supply of books and other important articles were sent out in this vessel by the generous citizens of Boston, who assumed the entire expense of the printing establishment for the first year.

The *Indian Chief*, with 154 persons, left Norfolk on the 15th of February, and arrived on the 22d March. One hundred and thirty-nine of these emigrants were from North Carolina. In this vessel, Dr. John W. Peaco went out, as United States agent, for the recaptured Africans. He was also employed by the Society to act as assistant agent and physician of the colony.

The entire company which arrived in the *Vine*, were soon attacked by the worst form of African fever, and about half their number, including Messrs. Sessions, Holton, and Force, (the printer,) fell victims to its power. A large majority of this company of emigrants were pious, steady, industrious and intelligent; and the young men, who in the spirit of christian benevolence had accompanied them, were worthy to become martyrs in such a cause.

Of the emigrants who came in the *Indian Chief*, only three out of the whole number, (and two of these small children,) died in the course of the season, while the remainder suffered very little during the period of acclimation, and were soon actively engaged in the laborious duties of a frontier life.

A tract of land lying along the Stockton Creek and St. Paul's river was surveyed, and as early as June, no less than thirty-three plantations on the Creek, and seventy-seven at Caldwell were occupied. Cheered and animated by the thriving condition of the colony, and the prosperous settlement of the newly arrived colonists, the Agent wrote to the Board for more emigrants. "If they come from the South," said he, "they cannot come very unseasonably in any part of the year. More funds, more activity, more emigrants, and I am satisfied."

"A Spanish schooner, the *Minerva*, while waiting for the collection of her cargo of 300 slaves, at Trade Town, had committed piracy on American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several recaptured Africans belonging to the United States Agency in Liberia. Mr. Ashmun, as agent of the United States, demanded of the Spanish Factor and native authorities of that place, the restoration of these Africans, and threatened, in case of refusal, "to

destroy, as soon as Providence should grant him power, entirely and for ever, that nest of iniquity." The demand was treated with contempt. Intelligence of the character of the Spanish schooner was communicated by Mr. Ashmun to the commander of the French brig of war, who soon captured her, though her establishment on shore, at which *two hundred and seventy-six slaves* were ready to be shipped to America, remained unmolested.

Early in January, goods were landed at Trade Town, from a French schooner, the *Perle*, sufficient for the purchase of *two hundred and forty slaves*, though in April she had obtained but *one hundred and twenty-six*.

A Brigantine, the *Teresa*, from Havana, armed with seven large carriage guns, and manned with forty-two men, with goods for the purchase of *three hundred slaves*, arrived in March, landed about one-third of the cargo, and had commenced her traffic.

Three slave factories were in full operation at Trade Town guarded by two vessels, mounting between them eleven carriage guns, and having a complement of sixty men and twenty more on shore; all well armed; when on the 9th of April, arrived at Monrovia, the Colombian armed schooner, *Jacinto*, Captain Chase, who, in accordance with the instructions of his government, offered to co-operate with Dr. Peaco (then principal agent of the United States for the recaptured Africans) and Mr. Ashmun, in any plan they might adopt for the punishment of these offenders. The offer of Captain Chase was accepted; and on the 10th of April, Mr. Ashmun, accompanied by Captain Cochran, of the Indian Chief, who generously offered to become his aid, and thirty-two volunteers of the colonial militia, embarked in the *Jacinto*, and arrived off Trade Town on the 11th, where they had the happiness to find anchored, the Colombian Brig of war, *El Vencedor*, Captain Cottrell, mounting twelve guns, which had the same afternoon captured, after a short action, the Brigantine *Teresa*.

Captain Cottrell agreed to unite his forces with those of the colony and *Jacinto* in an attack on the place. It was resolved to attempt a landing on the morning of the 12th, on the bar of the river in front of the town, where the passage is only eight yards wide, lined on both sides with rocks, and across which, at that time, the surf broke so furiously as to endanger even light boats, and leave scarce a hope of the safety of barges filled with armed men.

The Spaniards were seen drawn up on the beach within half musket range of the bar. The brig and schooner were ordered to open a fire on the town, but owing to their distance their shot produced no effect except to disperse the unarmed natives who had assembled as spectators of the scene.

The two boats in advance, commanded by Captains Chase and Cottrell, were exposed to a rapid fire from the enemy and were filled by the surf before they reached the shore. Their crews,

though few of them landed with dry arms, forced the Spaniards back into the town. The flag boat, in which were Mr. Ashmun, Captain Cochran, and twenty-four men, was upset and dashed upon the rocks; several of the men (among whom was Mr. Ashmun) injured, and some of the arms, with all the ammunition, lost. Captain Barbour, a colonist, observing the dangers of those who preceded him, run his boat a little to the left of the river's mouth, and thus landed in safety.

Though met by a galling fire from a party of Spaniards and natives at the water's edge, Captain Barbour formed the colonists, under his command, with the utmost coolness, and attacked the enemy with such vigor that they soon broke and fled to the town. The colonists, joined by the Colombians, advanced rapidly upon the town, broke down the slight palisades, and before the frightened enemy had time to rally behind their defences fell upon them, and drove them into the forest in the greatest confusion.

As soon as he found himself in quiet possession of the town, Mr. Ashmun despatched a messenger to King West (the principal native chief) demanding the delivery of all the slaves belonging to the factories. He was told that if there was deception or unnecessary delay in the matter, Trade Town should not exist two days longer. On the same day the Kroomen of King West brought in *thirty-eight* slaves; and on the next morning, *fifteen* more; the latter, a wretched company, evidently the refuse of all that had been collected at the station.

The natives assembled and united their forces to those of the Spaniards, and continued, from the rear of their towns, and under cover of the woods, to pour in, at frequent intervals, their shot upon their invaders. Captain Woodside, surgeon of the Jacinto, was severely wounded, and several of the colonial militia slightly. Every man under the command of the colonial agent, lay on his arms during the night of the 12th; and until noon on the 13th, every disposition was evinced by Mr. Ashmun to settle peacefully the questions which had excited hostilities. But in vain. At 12 on that day the boats were prepared, just outside the breakers, to receive on board the rescued slaves; at two, the canoes began to carry off the mariners, and at half past three, all were embarked, the officers leaving the shore last, and having set fire to the principal buildings of the town. The flames communicated with the utmost rapidity to every roof; and the town exhibited a single immense mass of flame before the canoes could get off from the beach. The moment they reached the boats the explosion of two hundred and fifty casks of powder at the same instant swept every vestige of what was once Trade Town from the ground on which it stood.

The destruction of Trade Town contributed more to the suppression of the slave trade on the western coast of Africa, north of the Bight of Benin, than any one single event, except only the



enactments of the English and American legislatures.\* It convinced every slave trader along the coast that his commerce was insecure, and the natives over a great extent of country, that a powerful enemy to their crimes had gained establishment on their shore.

From May to October, Mr. Ashmun was confined to his room in consequence of the injury received at 'Trade Town. Dr. Peaco was absent from Liberia several weeks during this period, to settle certain claims held at Sierra Leone against the United States Agency in Liberia. But the colony was not neglected. Mr. Ashmun was able to attend to the business of his agency, and directed several important measures for improving the condition and extending the influence and territory of the colony. To encourage agriculture, he granted leases of the public grounds in the vicinity of Monrovia, for three years, rent free, on condition that the lessees should proceed immediately to clear, enclose and improve them. He imposed a tax of two dollars a head on all land holders for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of a town school-house. Although this act occasioned expressions of the wildest and most absurd notions on the subject of taxation and republican liberty, he persevered in collecting the tax.

The government of Sierra Leone had put the line of coast from that place to the Gallinas, under blockade for the suppression of the slave trade. This measure operated favorably for the American Colonies, as the exclusion of the ordinary commerce induced the chiefs of Cape Mount to open a regular trade with the colonists which made the supply of rice, and other African provisions unusually cheap and abundant.

The brig John, Captain Clough, from Portland, and the schooner Bona, from Baltimore, were plundered on the 27th July, when lying at anchor off the town of Monrovia by a piratical brig, mounting twelve guns, and manned chiefly by Spaniards—the former of two thousand five hundred dollars, and the latter of two thousand eight hundred and sixty dollars.

Intelligence reached the colony, nearly at the same time that eight vessels engaged in the slave trade, had resolved to make Tradetown the station for their traffic, that they had commenced a battery on shore, and were determined to defend themselves against any force which might be brought against them. It is well known that the slave trade was, at this time, the pretext for fitting out piratical vessels from Havana. Scarcely an American trading vessel had for the last twelve months been on this coast as low as six degrees, North, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards.

In this state of things, Mr. Ashmun directed that a strong battery should be immediately erected near the termination of the

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\* The American Government at this time rigorously enforced her laws against the slave trade by means of armed cruisers on the coast.

cape, for the protection of ships at anchor in the roadstead, while he represented to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, the absolute necessity of the presence of a sloop of war for the defence of American commerce on the coast. His influence and authority with the native chiefs, however, contributed more than any other means to prevent the destruction of the colonial factories and the threatened subversion of the colony. The boats furnished by the government were of great utility; they enabled him to maintain the establishment at the Sesters, although within five miles of Trade Town, and to keep up an intercourse, even at that inclement season, along the beach with Bassa factory.

On the 18th of August, Dr. Peaco, whose health was much reduced by repeated attacks of fever, embarked in the brig John for the United States. This vessel was the first of a regular line of packets intended to run between the United States and Liberia; an arrangement which promised a great benefit to the colonies, as well as profit to the owners, but on account of exposure to slave traders and pirates, and the general want of security for American vessels on the coast, the line was discontinued.

Coincident with the departure of Dr. Peaco, was the death of Mr. Hodges, a boat builder from Norfolk, which left Mr. Ashmun, for the seventh time, the only white man in the colony.

The first political contest in the colony, occurred this year. A few individuals belonging to the Independent Volunteer Company, composed of high spirited young men, all excellent soldiers, but bad politicians, took offence at certain restrictive regulations, and particularly at the summary method, which on the failure of all others, had been adopted to raise money for most necessary improvements in the town. By zeal and activity, they soon formed a party; went forward in a body to the polls, and while the more sober part of the community were little aware of any political danger, elected their own candidate for the Vice Agency. The Colonial Agent refused to confirm the chosen candidate in office, and stated his reasons, which were entirely of a political nature.

In the afternoon, a circular was issued to this effect; "That the right of election conferred by the board of managers on the people of the colony, as it never had been, so it never should be interfered with by the Agent; consequently appointments to offices of trust in the colony, once legally made by the concurrence of the popular choice, with his own approbation, should never be rescinded by any arbitrary act on his part, and that the actual incumbents must remain in their office till removed in the only way prescribed by the constitution, that is, by vote of a majority of the electors of the colony." A minority only having voted, the polls were kept open until the next day, the whole body of voters attended, and by a large majority elected men well qualified for the offices, and whose appointment was immediately confirmed by the colonial agent.

The frames of two small schooners had been brought out in the Indian Chief; one of them, the Catharine, was completed and launched in October. Trifling as this circumstance may seem, it was really an important event to the colony, although but ten tons burthen, the Catharine carried a brass six pounder, pivot mounted, and being strongly manned and well armed with muskets, boarding pistols and cutlasses, she was thus prepared for defence against the piratical slave traders, afforded a commodious conveyance for the produce of the country, and enabled the agent to visit a long line of coast, to extend the relations of the colony, and bind together their establishments.

At the close of the year 1826, the colony was blessed with health, peace and prosperity. Its commerce had greatly increased, new settlements had been founded, and much progress made during the year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence. Fort Stockton had been rebuilt, and a battery nearly completed on the extremity of the cape. A large building capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, had been finished. The new agency house, market house, Lancasterian school house, and town house in Monrovia were far advanced, and the government house at Caldwell nearly completed.

A room had been set apart in the wing of the old Agency house for the colonial library consisting of 1200 vol. systematically arranged in glazed cases. Files of American newspapers were here also preserved, and it was intended to render this department both a reading room, and a museum for African curiosities.

The purchase of Factory Island had been definitely concluded, and a perpetual grant, rent-free, obtained of a fine tract of country lying between the two Junk Rivers. Five of the most important stations on the line of coast from Cape Mount to Trade Town, one hundred and fifty miles, now belonged to the colony either by purchase, or by deeds of perpetual lease; and all Europeans were excluded from any possession within these limits.

The tract granted to the society at the Young Sesters river in 1825, situated in the midst of a fruitful rice country, abounding in Palm oil, camwood and ivory, included all the land on each side to the distance of half a league, extending from the river's mouth to its source.

In December, of this year, the agent wrote thus to the Board: "We still enjoy a state of profound tranquility, as regards our relations with *all* the tribes of the country. The last season was most abundantly prolific in rice; and never have our settlements been in so favorable a state to admit, I may add, to *require*, a very large addition of settlers, as at the present moment."

All this region of Africa opens its bosom for the reception of her returning children. I rejoice in the testimonials furnished of a growing and enlightened interest in the objects of your Board among the American people. It is one of those great and benevolent designs on which the merciful father of all mankind loves to

smile, which the American Colonization Society has undertaken. Its root is deep, and its growth, however gradual, I believe to be entirely sure. But the greatest difficulties—for difficulties the cause has always struggled with, I never supposed to lie on this side the ocean. To obviate prejudices, and unite the exertions, and rouse the enterprise of the whole American people, this is the great labor, and to such as most successfully engage in, and prosecute it, will be chiefly due the acknowledgments of posterity."

1827.

The repeated acts of piracy in the vicinity of the colony, and the necessities of the United States agency within its limits, induced the Secretary of the Navy to despatch to the coast the United States schooner *Shark*, under command of Lieut. Norris, with a supply of arms and ammunition for the colony. This vessel arrived at Monrovia on the 12th of January. The commander acting in concert with the colonial agent, did much to suppress the slave trade along that coast, and to strengthen sentiments of good will towards the settlement among the neighboring tribes.

Early in the year, a treaty of peace was concluded between the colonial agent and the principal chief of Trade Town, by which the two parties were bound, mutually, to maintain and encourage between them friendly intercourse and an equitable trade, and to regard as sacred and inviolable the persons and property of each other. Soon after, the colonial factory at Young Sesters was suspended, in consequence of depredations committed upon it by the surrounding people, and especially, on account of a fierce war beginning to rage between the chiefs of that country and Trade Town. Mr. Ashmun visited both of these places, and for three days, was engaged in unavailing efforts to reconcile the contending parties. Both agreed to respect the colonial property, and both offered to give to the colonial agent, the whole country of their enemy, provided he would assist them to subdue it. Freeman (the chief of the Young Sesters country) and his allies, engaged to enrol themselves with all their people and country, as vassals and fiefs of the colony, on condition that they were assisted by the agent and his forces against their foe of Trade Town; "But from the first," said Mr. Ashmun, "all were given to understand, that our whole force was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled; that while we were ready to benefit *all* our neighbors, we could injure *none*; and that if we could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, we should never take part in them."

This war terminated for the advantage of the Sesters, at an earlier period than was expected, the colonial property confided to King Freeman, had been scrupulously preserved amid all the disorder and alarm of hostilities, and the Factory was re-established.

'The chief would, he said, relinquish one half of all his territories, rather than see the colonial settlement, in the midst of his people, abandoned.

In March, Mr. Ashmun, expecting soon to leave the colony, wrote to the Board that preparations were made for the reception of at least one hundred emigrants, and two hundred recaptured Africans, and added "At this point, formed by the junction of the St. Paul's and Stockton where I reside, I have now a most commodious house completely furnished, and kitchen and out houses separate. There is also a public store house an extensive fortification, a block house, jail, and now erecting, a receptacle for emigrants one hundred feet in length, overlooking both rivers.

At the Cape, I have just completed a new and extensive warehouse, of which the second story is fitted up for a printing office. Besides this building, the three settlements contain no less than six public stores and ware houses, altogether sufficient to store commodiously more public property than will soon find its way into the colony.

I have been enabled to collect an ample supply of rice, and hope to leave a sufficient supply of provisions and other necessaries for all the dependent of the agency—should other sources by accident be closed against them, during my absence."

On the 11th of April, the brig Doris, Capt. Mathews, with 23 emigrants, most of them from North Carolina, arrived at the colony, after a passage of forty-five days. These people suffered but slightly from the effects of the climate, and at an early day, took up their residence at Caldwell. Two young children only died. The most protracted case of illness, in the whole number, did not last longer than five days.

Soon after the arrival of the Doris, Mr. Ashmun wrote the Board: "I am at length reluctantly compelled by a sense of duty to the colony, to relinquish my intention, so long indulged, and so fondly cherished, of visiting the United States the present season. The arrival of so large a company, at so late a period of the dry season,—the absence of my colleague, the multiplicity of delicate and arduous duties devolving on an agent in consequence of the recent extension of our settlements—the very expensive improvements commenced, and *nearly*, but not *quite* completed, are motives for remaining, to which I dare not oppose private inclination; or any probable good which might grow out of my return to the United States."

In May, the schooner Caroline in attempting to cross the bar of the river, was thrown on the shore and seriously injured. This interrupted, for a while, the conveyance of produce from the factories, and made it necessary to buy provisions from trading vessels. The exposure of the Agent in endeavoring to save the Catharine, brought on a distressing rheumatic fever, which confined him several weeks, and obliged him to be some time absent from

the colony on an excursion to Sierra Leone and the Rio Pongos for the benefit of the sea air.

The ship Norfolk sailed from Savannah on the 10th of July with 142 recaptured Africans, and arrived at Liberia on the 27th of August. In seven days after their arrival, Mr. Ashmun wrote, "not more than twenty remain, even at this early date, a charge to the United States. Two-thirds of the whole number have situations in the families of the older settlers for terms of from one to three years. The remainder are at service, on wages, to be paid them at the year's end, when it is my intention to assign them their lands, and treat them in all respects as emigrants from the United States, unless the Board shall, in the interim, direct otherwise."

In August an infirmary was established, the want of which had long been felt. This establishment was not designed for emigrants during their acclimation, but to secure the comfort of the infirm and diseased, to furnish them with regular medical attention, to compel them to a proper regimen, to enable even the invalids to contribute to their own support, to provide an asylum for the poor and otherwise helpless, and to give instruction, particularly in the arts of domestic life, to many of the ignorant and slothful.

The whole system of schools which had been suspended by the death of Mr. Holton, was reorganized, and in efficient operation this year, under the superintendence of Rev. G. McGill, an experienced colored teacher. Though its influence was limited by the want of proper books and well qualified teachers.

The schools were all taught by colored people, and supported partly from the colonial treasury, and partly by subscriptions from the colonists.

They were sufficiently numerous to embrace all the children, including those of the natives, and all were obliged to attend. The number of children in the six schools was 227, of whom 45 were natives. Most of these were the sons of the principal men of the country, and more than half could, at the close of the year, read the New Testament intelligibly, and understand the English language nearly as well as the settlers of the same age. Had means been supplied, the number of these native pupils could have been greatly increased.

A school was opened in the Vey nation, thirty-five miles interior from Cape Mount, and sixty or seventy from Montserado, by the Baptist Missionaries of the colony. It commenced with 35 scholars, and was patronized by the Prince and head-men of the nation, who weredesirous to have their children clothed and trained to the habits of civilized life. Rev. Mr. Cary's school, for native children, was supported in part by the Baptist Missionary Society of Richmond.

The system of government adopted in 1824, had continued without any material alteration, and received the cordial support of the enlightened and influential part of the colonists. Unused to free-

dom, and ignorant of the principles of social order, it was to be expected that the uninformed would be deficient in public spirit and subordination. The annual elections resulted in the reappointment of most of the officers of the preceding year.

Nearly the whole expenses of the Colonial Government and of the United States' Agency, had this year been defrayed by the profits realized in the trade of the factories.

Four schooners were built and sent out under the flag of Liberia. The colony was sustained in its growth almost wholly by its own industry. It was, however, a subject of regret, that the life of this industry was rather in its trade and commerce than its agriculture. Situated, as were the colonists, on the central point of an extensive coast, with a vast field of commercial enterprise opening before them, they were tempted to seek the immediate gains of trade, rather than the more remote, though surer and more important advantages of agriculture. The premiums proposed by the Board to the most successful farmers, were to some extent beneficial. At Caldwell, an agricultural society was formed, at the weekly meetings of which, the members reported their progress on their plantations, and discussed practical questions on husbandry.

The recaptured Africans had proved orderly and industrious.—Familiar with the ordinary modes of African agriculture, and suffering nothing from the climate, they were busily and tastefully improving their settlements.

A company was formed in the colony for the purpose of improving the navigation of Montserado river; one thousand dollars of stock subscribed, and pledges given to raise, if necessary, four thousand more.

The military force was newly organized, and four volunteer companies formed; the description of which, as given at the time, was quite *en militaire*.

"The oldest of these companies is Capt. Barbour's Light Infantry, composed of select young men, completely armed and equipped, highly disciplined, (relatively,) and consisting of about forty men. Uniform, light-blue, faced with white.

The next is Capt. Davis's company. Uniform white, with blue bars, well armed and accoutered.

The third is a company of Light Artillery, composed of select young men, completely uniformed and equipped. This corps having been lately organized, consists only of about thirty men, but as it is exceedingly popular, will increase rapidly. Captain Devany is the present commander. Uniform deep blue, with red facings.

The fourth is a newly organized Artillery company, commanded by Capt. Prout."

Three enterprising citizens of the colony, during this year, explored the interior to a considerable extent. One of them penetrated to the distance of a hundred and forty miles, where he discovered a country inhabited by a numerous people, far advanced

in civilization. The St. Paul's river was explored upwards of two hundred miles.

The Chiefs of Cape Mount (with whom negotiations had been commenced the preceding year) had stipulated to construct a large and commodious Factory for the Colonial Government; to guarantee the safety of all persons and property belonging to the Factory; to exact no tribute from those who might resort to it; to encourage trade between it and the interior; and forever to exclude foreigners from similar privileges, and from any right of occupancy or possession in their country.

The right bank of Bushrod Island, extending the whole length of Stockton Creek, which unites Montserado and St. Paul's, had been ceded to the Society. This island contains twenty thousand acres of fertile, level land.

An invaluable tract of land, of indefinite extent, on the north side of the river St. Johns, contiguous to Factory Island, had also been added to the possessions of the Society.

All the Chiefs between Cape Mount and Trade Town had bound themselves to exclude all others except the people of Liberia, from a settlement in their country; and at no less than eight stations on this line of coast, had the Colonial Government obtained the right of founding settlements.

The following is a general view given of the domestic condition of the colony at this time. About half of the entire population were settled in comfortable dwellings on their own cultivated premises, and in independent circumstances. Most of these were engaged in the coasting and country trade; some were turning their attention to agriculture; several were carrying on mechanical trades and employing from four to twelve journeymen and apprentices. A second class in their new, and in some instances, unfinished houses, were engaged in clearing their lands, and making those improvements which were requisite to secure their title. Some of these having large families to support, without any accumulated means, like the pioneers of all new settlements, were suffering hardships, embarrassments, and privations, which nothing but the cheering prospect of ultimate success could enable them to sustain.

A third consisted of those, less than a year in Africa, mostly in the public receptacles or rented houses, imperfectly inured to the climate, partially dependent upon the society, and beginning moderately to labor for the older settlers, or on their own premises. The remaining class included all the idle and improvident who, although contributing to the labor of the colony, were securing no permanent interests to themselves.

In the month of December the United States ship of war Ontario, Captain Nicolson, touched at the Cape on her return from the Mediterranean. The commander granted the request of eight of his crew, free colored mechanics, to remain in the colony; and left a valuable donation of seeds which he had taken special care



to obtain in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, and Tunis. On his arrival in America, Captain Nicolson bore testimony to the general contentment and industry of the colonists, the rapid progress made by them in public and private improvements, and their salutary and growing influence over the native tribes.

To this may be added the testimony of the colonists themselves, given in a communication which they addressed to the colored people of the United States in the summer of this year.

They declared that in removing to Africa, they had sought for civil and religious liberty, and that their expectations and hopes in this respect had been realized. The great mortality which had occurred in the earliest years of the colony, they attributed principally to the dangers, irregularities, privations, discouragements, and want of medical experience, which are almost necessarily attendant on the plantations of new settlements in a distant, unclear-ed and barbarous country. After a few months residence in Africa, they enjoyed health as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree as in their native country. They believed that a more fertile soil than that of Liberia, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, did not exist on the face of the earth. The virtuous and industrious were nearly sure to attain there, in a few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they might in vain hope for, in the United States. "Truly," said they, "we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it can never be charged to the account of the country; it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and he knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his Providence to this shore.

"Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America. but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of the Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instrument of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and the goodness of the plan of colonization."

1828.

On the 15th of January, the brig Doris, arrived at Liberia, after a long passage from Baltimore, with 107 emigrants, principally from Maryland, 62 of them liberated slaves, and on the 17th, the

schooner *Randolph* from South Carolina with 26 Africans manumitted by a single individual. On the same day Mr. Ashmun returned from a fatiguing visit of inspection to the factories south of Monrovia and found these vessels with several others waiting his arrival; he had hardly despatched them before the settlement was menaced by a strongly armed piratical vessel. Immediately after her departure he received a proposition from the interior for opening a new trade path, on condition of forming a settlement and factory at the head of navigation on the St. Paul's river. This required him, without delay, to explore that situation and visit, for negotiation, all the Kings on both sides of the river. Returning from this expedition he was engaged for the next four days in a tedious judicial investigation. The duty of assigning to the newly arrived emigrants their lands was next discharged, followed immediately by a session of the court. The Agent had felt his strength failing under this pressure of business, but there seemed no alternative, and his exertions were unremitting until on the 5th of February, he was seized with a violent fever, which deprived him of his reason until the 21st. Subsequently he was favored with daily intervals of reason, which he employed in giving instructions to those who managed affairs during his illness.

On the 19th of February, the brig *Nautilus* arrived from Hampton Roads, with 164 emigrants mostly from the lower counties of North Carolina. The emigrants by this vessel and those by the *Randolph* suffered but slightly from the climate, but those by the *Doris* were sorely afflicted. They arrived in bad health in consequence of a protracted voyage, and twenty-four of the emigrants from Maryland died.

Mr. Ashmun having been advised by his physician that a return to the United States afforded the only hope of his recovery, prepared for his departure, and on the 25th of March, accompanied to the beach by the inhabitants of Monrovia in tears, left Africa never to return.

He proceeded to the West Indies whence, after some weeks, he took passage for New Haven, Conn., arrived on the 10th of August, and died on the 25th. He fell a victim to his labors and sufferings in the cause of African Colonization. The establishment which he found on the brink of extinction, he left in prosperity and peace. The people whom he began to rule when they were few, unorganized and disunited, he trained to habits of discipline and taught to enjoy the blessings of rational liberty. In his life he illustrated the power of christianity, to guide, to comfort and to elevate, and died with a calm, thoughtful, untrembling confidence which none but the christian can experience.\*

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\* Gurley's Life of Ashmun is recommended as containing much valuable information relating to Colonization, as well as for the elegant style and sentiments of the author.

This work has afforded much assistance in preparing the early part of this history.

At his funeral the Rev'd. L. Bacon, preaching from the words "*To what purpose was this waste,*" said :

"Such was he whose life has been spent, and prematurely exhausted in his zeal for Africa. Do you ask, to what purpose has he died? I would that we could stand together on the promontory of Montserado, and see what has been accomplished by those toils and exposures, which have cost this man his life. Hard by, we might see the island, where, a few years since, there was a market for the slave trade. To that place, crowds of captives were brought every year, and there they were sold like beasts of burthen. From that place they were consigned to the unspeakable cruelties of thronged and pestilential slave ships; and those whom death released not in their passage across the Atlantic, went into perpetual slavery. At that time this cape was literally consecrated to the devil; and here the miserable natives, in the gloom of the dark forest, offered worship to the evil spirit. All this was only a few years ago. And what see you now? The forest that has crowned the lofty cape for centuries, has been cleared away; and here are the dwellings of a civilized and intelligent people. Here are twelve hundred orderly, industrious and prosperous freemen, who were once slaves, or in a state of degradation hardly preferable to bondage. Here are schools, and courts of justice, and lo! the spire which marks the temple dedicated to our God and Saviour—strange land-mark to the mariner that traverses the sea of Africa. Here, for a hundred miles along the coast, no slave trader dares to spread his canvass; for the flag that waves over that fortress, and the guns that threaten from its battlements, tell him that this land is sacred to humanity and freedom. Is all this nothing? Is it nothing to have laid on a barbarous continent, the foundation of a free and christian empire? This is the work in which our friend has died.

But this is not all. I look forward a few years, and I see these results swelling to an importance which may seem incredible to cold and narrow minds. I see those few and scattered settlements, extending along the coast, and spreading through the inland. I see thousands of the oppressed and wretched, fleeing from lands where at the best they can have nothing but the name and forms of freedom, to this new republic, and finding there a refuge from their degradation. I see the accursed slave trade, which for so many ages past, has poured desolation along twelve hundred miles of the African coast, utterly suppressed, and remembered only as an illustration of what human wickedness can be. I see the ancient wilderness, like our own wide forests of the west, vanishing before the march of civilized and christian man. I see towns and cities rising in peace and beauty, as they rise along our Atlantic shore, and on the borders of our rivers. I see fair villages, and quiet cottages, and rich plantations, spreading out, where now in the unbroken wilderness, the lion couches for his prey. I see the pagan tribes, catching the light of civilization, and learning from

the lips of christian teachers, to exchange the bondage of their superstitions, for the blessed freedom of the gospel. I see churches, schools and all the institutions of religion and science, adorning Africa as they adorn the country of the pilgrims. I hear from the mountains, and the vallies, and along the yet undiscovered streams of that vast continent, the voice of christian worship, and the songs of christian praise. In all those scenes of beauty or of gladness, I see, and in all those accents of thanksgiving, I hear, to what purpose this servant of God poured out his noble soul in his labors of love.

Who asks us to what purpose is this waste? To what purpose! Thousands and thousands of the exiled sons of Africa, going back from lands of slavery, to enjoy true freedom in the rich and lovely land which God has given them, shall one day answer in their shout's of joy. To what purpose! Africa, delivered from her miseries, her chains thrown off, her spirit emancipated from the power of darkness, rising up in strength and beauty, like a new born angel from the night of Chaos, and stretching out her hands to God in praise, shall one day answer, to what purpose this martyr of benevolence has lived and died.

What parent would exchange the memory of such a departed son, for the embrace of any living one? Who would not that his brother, or his friend had lived such a life, and died so nobly for so noble ends, than that he were still living, and living for no such noble and exalted purpose? He is not dead to usefulness. His works still live. The light which he has kindled shall cheer nations yet unborn. His influence shall never die. Years and ages hence, when the African mother shall be able to sit with her children, under the shade of their native palm, without trembling in fear of the man-stealer and murderer, she will speak his name with words of thankfulness to God."

On the departure of Mr. Ashmun from Liberia, the government devolved on the Rev. Lot Carey, vice agent of the colony. The measures adopted by his predecessor were successfully prosecuted by Mr. Carey, and in a manner which proved not only satisfactory to the Board, but to the colonists themselves.

The tract of country recently stipulated for on the St. Pauls, was to be secured only by immediate occupancy and cultivation. A company of the oldest and most enterprising colonists commenced an agricultural settlement here in February, called Millsburgh. They progressed with their improvements so rapidly, that by July, they had built a range of houses sufficient to accommodate thirty or forty people, beside a large log factory, and each of the settlers had a small farm under cultivation.

The tract of country, including this settlement, abounds in streams of fresh water, the land is easily cleared and equal in fertility to the rich bottom lands of the United States.

The condition and prospects of the Millsburg settlement at this

time, were thus represented in a joint letter to the Board, from several individuals who had taken the lead in its establishment.

"We have to inform you, that we have in good cultivation twenty-four acres of rice, cassada, cotton, corn and other vegetables, and our crops promise better than any which have been raised since we have been in Africa. We have seen enough to convince us that we are doing well for the time. We must, however, inform you that ten acres of land is not sufficient for a farm. Here are large tracts of land which no persons inhabit. We have travelled about fifteen miles northeast, and found no person whatever; nothing but old country farms, and good brooks of water, and good land for cultivation. As we have made more discoveries for the good of the colony than any other set of men, we take the liberty to request that you would give us more land, as we intend to pursue cultivation;—for without cultivation we cannot prosper. Although times are hard with us just now, yet we must do the best we can; as we came out to plant a nation in the deserts of Africa, and as there are many waiting in America for us to clear the forest, we wish our rights for our children secured, which we hope you will grant us. As there are mill seats here, we wish you would send to us saw-mill irons and running gear for the same; also ox chains, reaping hooks, grass scythes, and stone hammers from 9 to 10 lbs. weight, with seed and grains of all kinds. Our rice is now shooting, and in six weeks we hope to be eating it."

Another colonist wrote, "There are many fine mill seats in our new territory, and also on the other side of the river. It would be almost incredible if I were to state the many advantages which are here visible to men of research. Nothing appears to be wanting but means and men of industry, and in a short time the whole of the present colony might be supported by its own inhabitants along the banks of the noble Dey, (St. Paul's) and in the adjacent country."

Another from Monrovia wrote, "I wish you and the Honorable Board of Managers would make some inquiries whether it would be prudent and safe for me to trust a vessel across the Atlantic with our stripes and cross; and whether we would be subject to foreign duties on tonnage? as Mr. ——— and myself are about contracting for a schooner; and we wish to be very particular, and not to move until we shall hear from the Board, as the subject is important, particularly in regard to the duties. The commercial interest of the colony is increasing."

On the 25th of June, the colonists were alarmed by the appearance of three suspicious vessels, which induced them to turn out all their forces, man Fort Norris Battery, and put themselves on the alert for the night. The next morning, the Captain of one of the vessels came ashore, who wished a supply of wood and water. Being convinced that they were all slavers, Mr. Cary refused to sup-

ply them, and allowed them but one hour to leave the roadstead. They were punctual to the time.

In September Mr. Cary located those recaptured Africans, whose terms of service to the colonists had expired, between Stockton creek and Montserado river. Before the close of the year, they had built themselves comfortable houses, enclosed their lots, and had their cassada, plantains and potatoes growing most luxuriantly.

In the fall of this year, the Colony's factory at Digby, a few miles north of Monrovia, was robbed by the natives, probably at the instigation of a slave-dealer, as one was allowed immediately to take possession of it. Demands for satisfaction having been refused, Mr. Cary felt himself bound to assert the rights and defend the property of the colony, and immediately commenced preparations for seeking redress by military force. On the evening of the 8th of November, while he and several others were engaged in making carriages, in the old agency house, a candle appears to have been accidentally upset among the powder, which caused an explosion that resulted in the death of eight persons, including the lamented Dr. Cary.

This remarkable man was born a slave, near Richmond, Va., and was early hired out as a common laborer in that city. Here, under the power of religion, he reformed his previous profane and vicious habits, and united with the Baptist church in 1807. A strong desire to read was excited in his mind, on hearing a sermon soon after his conversion, which related to our Lord's interview with Nicodemus, and he commenced learning his letters by trying to read the chapter in which this interview is recorded. Such was his diligence and perseverance, that, although he never attended school, he learned both to read and write. By his ability and fidelity in business, he obtained a sum sufficient to ransom himself and family, and became a preacher of the gospel, in which capacity he was the means of doing great good to the colored people on the plantations around Richmond. He became deeply interested in African missions, and was among the earliest emigrants to Liberia. When the appalling circumstances of the first settlers led to a proposition from the government agent that they should remove to Sierra Leone, the resolution of Mr. Cary to remain was not to be shaken, and his decision induced others to follow his example. To him was the colony indebted, more than to any other man, except Ashmun, for its preservation during the memorable defence of 1822.

In order to relieve, if possible, the sufferings of the people, Mr. Cary turned his attention to the diseases of the climate, made himself a good practical physician, and devoted his time almost exclusively to the relief of the destitute, the sick, and the afflicted.—His services, as physician of the colony, were invaluable, and for a long time, were rendered, without hope of reward, while he made liberal sacrifices of his property to the poor and distressed. But

amid his multiplied cares and efforts, he never neglected to promote the objects of the African Missionary Society. He sought access to the native tribes, instructed them in the doctrines and duties of the christian religion, and established a school for the education of their children. To found a christian colony which might prove a blessed asylum to his degraded brethren in America, and enlighten and regenerate Africa, was with him an object with which no temporal good could be compared. In one of his letters he says, "There never has been an hour or a minute, no, not even when the balls were flying around my head, when I could wish myself again in America."

The election for a successor to Mr. Cary in the Vice Agency, was warmly contested by the partizans of the two rival candidates, Mr. Waring and Mr. Devany. But on the election of the former, all submitted willingly to the constituted authorities.

On the 22d of December, Richard Randall arrived as the Society's agent for the colony, accompanied by Dr. Mecklin, as the colonial surgeon. They found the colony prosperous, and were struck with the inviting appearance of the settlements and the country. As no farther hostility had been manifested on the part of the natives, and the slave factory, which was the original cause of difficulty, had been broken up, the colonists were inclined to pursue an amicable course towards their offending neighbors.

The system of education, commenced the preceding year, had been pursued through this. The teachers were attentive and faithful—and every child in the colony enjoyed the benefit of their instructions; but these instructions, owing to the limited ability of the teachers, were confined to the simplest branches of knowledge, and were insufficient to form that intellectual character, which the condition of the colony required.

The attention to morals and religion, which had for years characterized the settlers, was still maintained, and was exerting a salutary influence over the natives. Sabbath schools had been established throughout the colonies—two of which, were for native children.

An enlightened ministry was, however, greatly needed, and the well timed purpose of several missionary associations to make establishments in Liberia, added much to the encouraging prospects of the colony, though they failed in a great measure of being realized. Of five missionaries destined to this field from the Evangelical missionary society of Switzerland, one arrived in December of 1827, and the others during the present year. They all remained at Monrovia a few months for acclimation, and were about commencing their mission at Grand Bassa, when they were interrupted by sickness, which caused the death of one, and obliged another to quit the colony.

The early part of this year was marked by no extraordinary

events in the colony. Health prevailed, the inhabitants were prosecuting their various improvements, the agent was zealously engaged in the duties of his office, preparing for the reception of a large party of emigrants which was soon expected, exploring the country, and examining into its various relations and resources. He made an excursion up the St. Paul's, ten or fifteen miles farther than it had yet been explored by any white man. As far as he proceeded he found this river unobstructed, its waters clear and limpid, its banks and the surrounding country rich and beautiful.

As the under brush is here, the most dense that can be imagined, the exploring party could only proceed through the paths made by the wild cattle, or have one cleared by sending forward two or three of the natives, who, with their short cutlasses, rapidly removed the under brush, and thus formed a perfect alcove entirely protected from the action of the sun, which was only now and then visible through an opening in the trees.

Though much had been done by Mr. Ashmun to banish the slave trade from the territory under colonial jurisdiction, it was this year carried on very actively at the Gallenas, and to the leeward of Monrovia. In consequence of which some of the native tribes in the vicinity, were involved in war with each other; and at one time approached so near the colony in pursuit of their victims, that the inhabitants were alarmed and prepared for defence. They were however soon relieved by the departure of the hostile party, with their complement of slaves to the interior. It is impossible to imagine, says the agent, the misery that such a war occasions among the vanquished. It has not been unusual for the population of whole towns to die of starvation; their crops of rice and cassada having been destroyed by the enemy.

On the 17th of March, the brig Harriet from Norfolk arrived at Monrovia, and landed 155 passengers in good health and spirits. This company of emigrants were from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. Upwards of forty were slaves, liberated on condition of going to Liberia. Some had long been free, and acquired considerable property, and nearly all had been recommended as industrious and exemplary. Comfortable shelters had been prepared for them, against the rains which soon commenced. In about ten days after their landing, they began to have the fever of the country. The indisposition which they first experienced was slight, from which, having partially recovered, they regarded the danger as past; and by imprudent exposures to the weather, and a free indulgence of the tropical fruits, brought on a far more fatal disease.

At the same time, both the colonial agent and physician were so reduced by fever, as to be unable, for the most part, to give personal attendance to their patients, 26 of whom died in the course of the summer. It is to be lamented that instructions from the board to the colonial agent, on the importance of having these emigrants,



immediately on their landing, removed to Millsburg, were by some oversight not sent by the Harriet.

Dr. Randall recovered from his first slight attack of fever, without having been long interrupted in his devoted attention to the wants of the colony. Fatigue and exposure brought on a relapse, from which he again recovered—by similar imprudence, he was again taken down. His fourth and last attack proved fatal. He died on the 20th of April, the victim of an enthusiasm, which it is impossible not both to admire and regret. His loss was deeply felt in the colony, and by the friends of colonization in the United States, as it was hoped that upon him had fallen the mantle of Ashmun. On receiving the tidings of Dr. Randall's death, the board appointed Dr. Mecklin as his successor.

Both Sabbath and day schools continued throughout the colony ; but the want of qualified teachers was still felt. Joseph Shipherd an experienced colored teacher from Richmond, Virginia, came out in the Harriet, and Mr. J. B. Russwurm, a young man of color, who received his education at Bowdoin College, Maine, and came out to the colony for the express purpose of superintending and improving the system of education, arrived on the 12th of November.

The celebrated Moorish prince, Abduhl Rahhahman, went out in the ship Harriet, and while waiting at the colony to receive intelligence from his friends and brother who was then the reigning King of Teembo, died of a sudden illness on the 6th of July. It was his intention, had he lived to visit his native country, to obtain means to liberate his children who were slaves in the United States, and with them to return and settle in the colony, where it was hoped his influence would be the means of opening a direct communication for trade with Teembo, and thus divert at least a portion of the trade of that place, from Sierra Leone to Liberia.

Two of the citizens made a trading excursion this year to Bo Poro, the capital of King Boatswain's dominions, 150 miles interior. He professed himself a warm friend of the colony, (towards which he had always been well disposed) and made a distinct proposal through these colonists for the establishment of a factory at his town, offering to send down people to assist in transporting goods from the colony, should the agent determine to build a factory.

The commerce of the country was still active, and the crops of the farmers greater than in any preceding year. The emigrants by the Harriet had their lands assigned them, and commenced clearing and building.

#### 1830.

Five additional Swiss missionaries came out this year. They left Europe in 1829, accompanied by one of the five who had previously visited Liberia, but was obliged to return with his in-

valid brother missionary to Switzerland. They came by the way of the United States, where they spent several months in visiting the churches.

On the 27th of February, 58 emigrants arrived in the brig *Liberia*, from Norfolk, and with them Dr. Anderson the colonial physician and assistant agent, also, two of the Swiss missionaries (the others having come out a month previous), all landed in good health and were highly delighted with the country.

Among these emigrants was the Rev. George Erskine, a Presbyterian minister, with his wife, five children, and his mother about 80 years of age, who was born in Africa. All this family were born slaves, and their freedom was bought by Mr. Erskine.

He was an intelligent man and an interesting preacher. During the passage he preached every Sabbath. He said one day to the Captain, "I am going to a new country to settle myself and family as agriculturalists, to a country where the complexion will be no barrier to our filling the most exalted stations."

Another interesting passenger was Mr. Cook; he was about seventy years of age, and had a family of thirty persons, all of whom evidenced the beneficial effects of the good old man's counsel. They were Methodists, from Lynchburg, Va.

On the 4th of March, 91 recaptured Africans arrived. They sailed from the United States in August, 1829. But owing to the ignorance and obstinacy of the Captain, (who disregarding the experience of navigators, determined on pursuing a direct course to Liberia, which deprived him of the benefit of the trade winds,) after being out 89 days, they were obliged to put into Barbadoes; and the vessel being condemned as unseaworthy, another was here chartered in which to prosecute their voyage. The whole of this company were entirely exempt from the fever of the country, though they had been some time in the United States. They were therefore able immediately to take possession of the lands assigned them, and commence building their huts, which they thatched in a different manner from those of the natives adjacent, and quite superior to them. The entire settlement of recaptured Africans, containing about 400 inhabitants, was at this time one of the neatest and most flourishing in the colony. It seemed almost incredible that these could be the same individuals, who, when in bondage evinced so little intellect and forethought. They furnished a large supply of vegetables, mellons, fowls, &c., for the market of Monrovia.

Soon after the arrival of the *Liberia*, Dr. Mecklin was compelled, by the state of his health, to leave the colony; and the administration of government devolved on Dr. Anderson, who was then in good health, and continued to discharge the duties of his agency until April, when he died, after an illness of ten days.—The death, also, of three of the Swiss missionaries, which occurred in quick succession, cast a gloom over the settlement. The colored passengers by the *Liberia* had the fever slightly at first, and it

was hoped would pass through their seasoning with safety. But having no physician to attend them, and, in general, disregarding the advice of the older settlers not to expose themselves to the heat, and rain, and evening dews, several, in the course of the summer, died ; among them was the Rev. Mr. Erskine.

Early in June, 70 emigrants arrived in the Montgomery. Thirty of these were liberated by one gentleman in Georgia ; and as the climate has little effect on people from that section of the country, the deaths of two small children were the only ones that occurred among this hardy company during their acclimation.— Among the other emigrants by the Montgomery, who were chiefly from Virginia, the sickness was more severe, and, in a greater number of instances, proved fatal.

More of an agricultural spirit, seemed, at this time, to prevail in the colony. The emigrants who came out the preceding year by the Harriet, were chiefly men who knew the value of industry, and their application to business was manifest in the flourishing condition of their farms. Caldwell, the place of their residence, is a beautiful town, situated at the junction of the St. Paul's and Stockton Creek, consisting of one street about a mile and a half long, kept very clean, and planted on each side with rows of plantain and bananas. Between this and the water, there is an open space, contributing to the beauty and health of the place. Those who applied themselves diligently and perseveringly to farming from the first, were generally in a prosperous condition. But the mania for trading was too apt to seize new comers, many of whom engaging in it, not only without adequate means, but wholly destitute of experience, would be cheated by the natives, lose their property, and become dissatisfied with the place. Those who expected to live comfortably, and get rich without labor, constituted nearly the whole class of murmurers.

The schools of the colony were in a deplorable condition for the want of funds and competent teachers. Mr. Shiphard soon became so engrossed by his duties, as colonial surveyor, that he gave up his school altogether, which left only two pay schools in operation, and these embracing but a small number of pupils. Mr. Kisling, one of the Swiss missionaries, had collected a school for orphans and natives, which the state of his health permitted him to attend to but very irregularly. One of the emigrants by the Liberia opened a school at Caldwell. There was none at Millsburg, and none in the settlements of recaptured Africans at New Georgia. The citizens in general, felt no due sense of the importance of preparing their children, by education, for usefulness, influence and self-government. Their sudden elevation of circumstances and privileges, and their rapid acquisition of property, had, to some extent, produced a spirit of emulation, display and extravagance, unfavorable to the moral and religious interests of the colony.— They had yet to learn, from experience, that economy and sober

expectations best promote, not only public welfare, but private happiness.

Friendly relations continued to exist between the colonists and the natives. Early this year, one tribe put themselves under the protection, and adopted the laws of the colony. The King, Long Peter, cheerfully giving up his title, and receiving the appointment of head man from the agent. His people were full of joy, when they learned that the agent had determined to adopt them as subjects of the colony. They were aware of the advantages of such an arrangement, which at once freed them from all the oppressive customs and laws of the surrounding native tribes, and secured them from being sold into slavery, as they were before liable to be at any moment, on account of some frivolous dispute or palaver, got up for the purpose by the head men, whenever they wanted a supply of money.

Several of the petty kings made application to put themselves and their people under the government of the colony, that they might not be molested by king Boatswain, who was at this time largely engaged in the slave trade; but the colonial agent hesitated to engage his protection to the more distant tribes. He, however, received Far Gay and his people, who were in the vicinity of the colony.

On the 3d of December the Caroline arrived, bringing 107 colored persons, Dr. Mecklin, Dr. Humphries, assistant agent and physician, and Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, missionaries, sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions. Among the 45 liberated slaves, were the children and grand children of Abduhl Rahhahman. Several children of this company died of the measles on the passage, and several adults, of fever, after their arrival, amounting in all to 20, including Mrs. Skinner and child. Dr. Mecklin resumed the duties of colonial agent, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the vice agent, A. D. Williams.

Twenty-five substantial stone and frame buildings had been erected in Monrovia; the spirit of enterprise was increasing among the people, who seemed determined to develop the resources of the country.

The first newspaper in Liberia, was commenced this year by Mr. Busswurm, and called the Liberia Herald.

### 1831.

The brig Valador, with Dr. Todsen and 83 emigrants, arrived at Monrovia in January. Most of these were from the lower parts of Virginia and North Carolina. They arrived in good health, and were immediately transferred to Caldwell, and placed under the care of Dr. Todsen, who providentially continued well until nearly all his patients were recovering from the fever.

It was no doubt in part owing to his skill and unmerited attention, that, of this whole company, only three children, and not a

single adult died; during their acclimation, while the mortality that attended those by the *Caroline*, was partly attributed to their want of a physician, both Dr. Mecklin and Dr. Humphries being sick at the time when their services were most needed. The latter died in February, of a consumption, with which he had long been afflicted in the United States. The Rev. Mr. Skinner took passage for the United States, in hopes of thus recovering his health, but died on the voyage. The death of this devoted missionary and his wife, was a great loss.

The colonial agent, in obedience to the instructions of the Board, made a sale of some public lots in Monrovia the beginning of the year, by which a considerable fund was raised for the purposes of education. A law was passed about the same time, by the agent and council, taxing all the real estate in the colony, at the rate of five cents on a hundred dollars, which tax was to be exclusively devoted to the support of public schools. The duties on spirituous liquors were also to be thus appropriated. School houses were erected at Monrovia, Caldwell and Millsburg, competent teachers appointed under the supervision of trustees, and a new zeal in the cause of education was awakened throughout the colony. The system adopted, was designed to afford the means of instruction to every child.

A most encouraging letter addressed to the colonists from the Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester, on the importance of education, was published in the February number of the *Liberia Herald*. The editorial article in this paper, which closed its first year, contained the following paragraph, "The changes which have taken place in the colony during the publication of the *Herald*, are worthy of notice. Every thing has improved—our agriculture, our commerce have each shared in the blessing. Monrovia has almost assumed a new garb, and should things continue to prosper as they have, our town will certainly present the most desirable residence, to a stranger, of any on the coast of Africa. In Monrovia alone, the number of comfortable stone and wooden dwellings erected during the year has been upwards of fifty-five—and if we take into consideration, that Caldwell, Millsburg, and the recaptured towns have shared equally in this prosperity, we have abundant reasons to be thankful for the showers of mercy, which have been extended to our infant colony. Our commerce is daily extending, and we believe the day is not far distant when our port will be the emporium of the western coast of Africa."

But the object which we consider of most vital importance to the future prosperity of the colony, is education. The subject has long lain dormant, but the late resolutions of the Board of Managers, and the fixed determination of our executive to carry them into effect, give us every reason to hope that a complete free school system is about being put into operation."

It had been thought that the sale of ardent spirits was almost necessary to the commerce of the colony as the natives would prefer selling their brethren to the slave traders, who always supplied them with this pernicious article, rather than to trade with the colonists, if it could not be obtained from them. And besides, the facilities of introducing it clandestinely were such, that the Board of Managers, though they were grieved to have it so extensively introduced into the colony, thought that to correct the evil by moral influence, would be wiser and more effective than by legal restraints. They therefore sent an address to the colonists, expressing their disapprobation of the use and sale of ardent spirits; recommending them to form temperance societies, and in every way to use their influence to produce a correct public sentiment on this subject, with the design of lessening the demand for this article, and of finally banishing it from the commerce of the colony. This address, together with various pamphlets and tracts on the subject of temperance were not unavailing. Many of the colonists determined to abandon entirely the use of ardent spirits, and to discourage its introduction into the colony.

The excessive disposition to engage in commerce still continued. The substitution of an anchorage for a tonnage duty induced many vessels that formerly passed on to the leeward coast to anchor now in the harbor of Monrovia, and do business to a considerable amount.

The Liberia Herald announced the arrival of 18 and the departure of 14 vessels in a single month. Several of these however, were small schooners owned at the colony. The Herald of December says, "The beach is lined with Liberians of all ages, from twelve to fifty years, eager in the pursuit of traffic, and in the acquisition of camwood; and it is astonishing what little time is necessary to qualify, even the youngest, to drive as hard a bargain as any roving merchant from the land of steady habits, with his assortment of tin ware, nut-megs, books or dry goods. Here the simile ends—for it is to be wished that our Liberians would follow their prototype in the mother country throughout, and be as careful in keeping as acquiring.

The Librarian is certainly a great man, and what is more, by the natives he is considered a white man, though many degrees from that stand—for to be thought acquainted with the white man's fashions, and to be treated as one, are considered as marks of great distinction among the Bassa and other nations."

Forty-six vessels, twenty-one of which were American, visited the colony in the course of the year. The amount of exports was \$88,911.

The slave trade, though it had received some check in the immediate vicinity of the colony, was still prosecuted on nearly every part of the African coast.

In June, the colonial schooner Montserado was captured by a Spanish pirate off little Cape Mount; and her crew consisting of

eight persons either conveyed on board the Spanish vessel, or put to death.

During a visit of the colonial agent to one of the native towns in the vicinity this summer, eight or ten of the chiefs, after consulting with each other, united in the request, that they might be received and treated as subjects of the colony, and that settlements might be made on their territory. They expressed a confidence that in such case, they would no longer be exposed to the incursions and cruelties of more powerful tribes.

The just and humane policy of the colonial government toward the natives, induced the latter frequently to refer the settlement of their disputes to the colonists, instead of abiding by their own laws and usages.

It was not unusual for them to attend the court of monthly sessions either as plaintiffs or defendants; and its decisions were cheerfully acquiesced in even by the party against whom they were given.

In the autumn of this year, the brig *Criterion*, after a passage of 88 days from Norfolk, arrived at the cape with 44 passengers who were immediately landed and placed in the receptacle at Caldwell. This was represented to be a better company, more respected for their habits of industry and propriety of conduct, than the generality of those who had emigrated for some time.

On the 9th of December, the schooner *Orion* arrived from Baltimore with 30 emigrants, all well.

The same day a small tract of land at Grand Cape Mount was formally ceded to the American Colonization Society; healthy, fertile, and very advantageously situated for trade; the possession of this tract was considered a valuable acquisition.

The chiefs of the country, granted an unquestionable title to this land, on the sole condition that settlers should be placed upon it, and that schools should be established for the benefit of the native children. The young men declared their purpose of submitting to the laws of the colony, and their willingness to make further grants of land to any extent desired, whenever the terms of the present negotiation should have been complied with.

The liberality of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society enabled the managers of the American Colonization Society this year to build a schooner for the use of the colony of about 60 tons. She was completed, and sailed from Philadelphia under the command of Capt. Abels with a *colored crew* carrying a valuable supply of trade goods. She was called the *Margaret Mercer*. Two families of colored people embarked in her, one the Rev. W. Johnson's of Con., the other liberated by the Rev. Dr. Mathews of Shepards-town, Virginia. They arrived on the 15th of December.

To the christian who esteems worldly prosperity of little moment in comparison with that blessing of the Lord which

bringeth salvation, the following letter from a colonist will not be uninteresting.

MONROVIA, *December 24, 1831.*

"A great press of wordly business, and a great revival which the Lord was pleased to bless us with last year, and greater part of this, have occupied all my time. Since Captain Sherman was with us, there has been nearly one hundred added to our church. The work began in June 1830, in Monrovia, and lasted till the early part of 1831. It then extended to Caldwell and Cary Town, [New Georgia] a settlement of recaptured Africans. Among the latter it has continued ever since, so they make up the largest number that has been added to the church; and they seem fully to adorn the christian character. They have built themselves a small house of worship, at which they meet regularly on the Lord's day, and twice in the week for prayer. We have appointed one of the most intelligent among them to take the oversight of them, and to exhort them, when none of the preachers are there from Monrovia. Monrovia may truly be said to be a christian community: there is scarcely a family in it, that some one or the whole do not profess religion.

"C. N. WARING."

1832.

On the 14th of January, 343 emigrants arrived in the James Perkins. This vessel was fitted out at short notice, at the earnest request of those who embarked in her, and the unexpected arrival of her large company, in addition to the other recent arrivals, occasioned some embarrassment in providing shelters for them all. Temporary arrangements were, however, made for their accommodation, until a receptacle which had been commenced, should be finished, and some building frames which were brought out in this ship erected. It was an encouraging circumstance that many of this company were farmers, for the time had now come when those who could, must till the soil for a subsistence or starve. More were already engaged in trade than could gain a livelihood by this means.

In February, the schooner Crawford, from New Orleans, brought out 22 emigrants under the care of Dr. Shane of Cincinnati. The following was extracted from a letter written by this gentleman from the colony. "I here see many who left the United States in straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them, enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethern in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty. I am certain no friend to humanity can come here and



see the state of things, without being impressed with the immense benefits the society is conferring on the long neglected sons of Africa. Nothing, but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from coming to this land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings are enjoyed." All that is wanting here is industry to make the emigrants not only easy in their circumstances, but wealthy.

In March, the colonists were called to take the field against a combination of the Dey and Gourah Chiefs. Several slaves about to be sold have escaped from King Brumley, and sought protection among the recaptured Africans of the colony. A demand being made for them by Brumley's son, the agent refused to treat with him, but requested the King to visit the colony, and declared himself ready to do justice in the case. Soon after the return of the young man, King Brumley died, and his sons immediately resolved on war. They secured the aid of several of the Dey and Gourah Chiefs, (the latter of which secretly furnished men for the contest,) and commenced aggressions by seizing and imprisoning several of the colonists. A messenger sent to them by the colonial agent was treated with contempt, and the settlements of Caldwell and Millsburg threatened with destruction. About 100 recaptured Africans were sent against the hostile forces, but on approaching the town of a native chief, which had been fortified as a place of retreat for the aggressors, they were repulsed and compelled to retreat with the loss of one man. Prompt and energetic measures were now required; accordingly the agent at the head of 270 men, armed with muskets and a field piece, proceeded towards the fortified town just mentioned, and arriving about midnight, commenced an attack upon the barricade. For twenty minutes the firing on both sides was incessant, and in less than half an hour, the colonists were in possession of the town; with the loss of one man killed, (Lieut. Thompson) and two wounded. Kai Pa, the instigator of the war, received a wound when about to apply the match to a three pounder, which doubtless prevented the destruction of many lives. Of the natives, 15 were killed and many wounded. The courage and ability exhibited by the colonial agent as well as by the officers and men under his command on this occasion, left an impression on the minds of the natives, favorable to the future peace and security of the colony. In a few days, six Dey Chiefs appeared at Monrovia and signed a treaty of peace by which it was agreed that traders from the interior should be allowed a free passage through their territories, and that all matters of difference which might arise between citizens of Liberia and the Dey people, with the evidences thereon, should be referred to the decision of the colonial agent.

A few weeks after this affair with the Dey people, the agent received a message from King Boatswain, expressing his regret that he had not been made acquainted with their hostility, as he would

have rendered it unnecessary for the colonists to march against them.

This spring the agent visited Grand Bassa, and obtained a deed of a tract of land on the south side of the St. John's river, containing from 150 to 200 square miles, together with four large islands in the river a little above Factory Island. The chiefs from whom the purchase was made, agreed to build three large houses in the native style, for the accommodation of the first settlers.

On the 30th of July, the ship *Jupiter* anchored in the harbor of Monrovia, with 172 emigrants; a part of them suffered from sickness on the passage, and several were infirm when they landed. This was considered one of the most promising expeditions which had been sent out for some time. Several were men of intelligence and education, superior to the generality of their class. They were mostly from Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia.

In contrast to the character of this company was that of the emigrants by the *America*, 182 in number, who arrived on the 15th of September. The following is the account given of them by the Colonial Agent, in his letter announcing to the Board their arrival: "With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition, I regret to be compelled to state that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of the Pages from Virginia, and a few others, the lowest and most abandoned of their class. From such materials it is in vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent, and enterprising community can possibly be formed; the thing is utterly impracticable, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own indolence and stupidity, that the slanderous reports circulated in the United States have originated. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months, and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the depredations committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support."

The health of the colony had never been better than this year, with the exception of intermittent fever in the summer at Caldwell, attributed to local causes. The diseases of the climate yielded so generally to the skill and attention of the physicians, and the deaths from acclimating fever among the emigrants, by the several late expeditions, had been so very few, that it seemed as if the climate was no longer to be dreaded.

A manifest improvement in the schools was reported this year, and a more general desire of the colonists for the promotion of education. Besides the six day schools for children, there was an

evening school for adults. The female schools at Monrovia and Caldwell, were well conducted, and attended by nearly a hundred girls. The teachers, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Cesar, were paid by a society of ladies in Philadelphia. At Millsburg, there was no good school, and none of any kind among the recaptured Africans, except Sunday schools, which were well attended and taught by their own people, many of whom could read. Each tribe had a house of worship, and a town or palaver house built by voluntary subscription and joint labor. A street separated the neat and well built villages of the Eboes and Congoes—their farms adjacent to the village were under excellent cultivation, and they were stated to be the most industrious and thriving of any people in the colony, but they had very imperfect notions of republican government. They had several times attempted to choose a chief without success, the minority refusing submission to the person chosen. This year they solicited the colonial agent to superintend their election; it was held in his presence and after he had explained to them the object of an election, and the necessity of submitting to the will of the majority, they appeared perfectly satisfied.

These recaptured Africans not unfrequently procured wives from the adjacent tribes by paying a small sum to the parents of the girl. The women thus obtained were married and dressed according to the customs of the colony, and in a short time adopted the habits of the settlers, so as scarcely to be distinguished from those who had been several years in the United States.

The settlement of Grand Bassa was commenced on the 18th of December, by 38 emigrants, under the most encouraging circumstances. The chiefs and people of the country received them in the most cordial manner; assisted them in building houses, and constructing a barricade upon which their guns were mounted, though there was no prospect of their being required for defence.

Bob Gray one of the chiefs from whom the territory was purchased, had planted a large quantity of cassada and sweet potatoes on their land for the use of the settlers. Mr. Williams, the vice agent, who accompanied these emigrants, performed divine service several times during his stay, and found among the natives (most of whom could speak English,) a numerous and attentive congregation. They were anxious to have a school established among them.

The following extracts of letters written from Monrovia will show how the colonists estimated their own advantages—one wrote to her former mistress in Virginia;—"Our house has one front room, a shed room, and one above stairs. When Mr. Hatter returns, he intends to build a stone house. Our lot is in a very pretty part of the town, and I have a great many very pretty trees growing in it. I send you, by Mr. Hatter, some tortoise shell and a little ivory tooth; and some shells to Miss ——— and ———. Give my love to them, and tell them I wish they had such a sweet

beach to take their morning and evening walks on as we have here. My dear mistress, you do not know how thankful I am to you for buying my husband." The same wrote to her sister: "I never was better satisfied in my life, if I only had my dear relations and friends with me. We enjoy the same liberty here that our masters and mistresses do in America. I am so well pleased with my situation I would not change it for all America. You need not be afraid to come; every person has to see trouble and inconvenience at first, in a new country. I have seen about as much trouble as any body, and I know I am satisfied. I get a great deal of work to do. I keep a girl ten years old for her victuals and clothes. I have taught her to read and sew, and she assists me in cooking and cleaning. I have coffee in my lot, a good many other trees, and the guava, which makes nice sweetmeats. If I only had you and your family, mother and her family, and if my dear husband was returned, I should be as happy as the day is long."

Another wrote to his mistress: "It gives me great satisfaction that every thing I do is for myself and my children. I would not give the enjoyment I have had since I have been in Africa for all I have seen in America. I have set out all kinds of trees that are in Africa. As soon as my coffee trees bear I will send you some. We have preaching every Sunday, and prayer meeting every night through the week. Many of the recaptured Africans come to be baptized, and we expect more shortly; they appear to be more diligent than the Americans."

1833.

*Six hundred and forty-nine* emigrants were landed at Monrovia this year, from six different vessels, five of which left the United States the latter part of 1832.

The arrival of so great a number of emigrants in so short a time, had not been anticipated by the Agent, nor were the means provided by the Board sufficient to furnish the provisions and accommodations necessary for the health and comfort of these new comers. The consequence was suffering, discontent, and complaint.

In July, the brig *Ajax* arrived from New Orleans, with a large company of emigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee, nearly all of whom were manumitted, that they might proceed as freemen to Liberia. The entire company were of the most respectable character, and only eleven out of the one hundred and fifty that left the United States, were over forty years of age. They were accompanied by an agent from Tennessee, and Mr. Savage, from Ohio, who had devoted himself to the moral and intellectual improvement of Africa. The cholera was just beginning its ravages in New Orleans at the time the *Ajax* sailed from that port, and twen-

ty-nine of the emigrants fell victims to that disease during the early part of the passage.

A large company of emigrants from South Carolina, were enterprising, intelligent and industrious. Many of them possessed capital. Such as were farmers, drew their plantation lots in a body, for their mutual convenience and benefit.

Agriculture did not, in general, receive the attention which its importance demanded—the mania for trade still prevailing.

The settlement at Grand Bassa increased this year from thirty-three to one hundred and seventy, and the pioneers, already settled on their enclosed town lots, were making commendable progress in agricultural improvements.

Their town, named Edina,\* was laid out on a tongue of land on the north side of the St. Johns, and presented a fine view from the ocean. A short distance from Edina was the native town of Bob Gray, who considered himself highly honored by having Americans so near him. Between the two settlements, was the ancient Devil Bush, of the Grand Bassa people, which they reserved in their sale of lands to the colonists, though it was no longer used for the performance of their superstitious rites. “It is evident,” said the editor of the Herald, “to the most casual observer, that the natives in the vicinity of our settlements, are gradually becoming more enlightened, and consequently less observant of their superstitious notions and idolatry. It is pleasing to reflect, that the spot near which the nameless bloody rites of Moloch have been perpetrated for centuries, is soon to be the site of a mission house, which is erecting by the direction of the Rev. Mr. Cox, missionary from the United States.” This was the first Methodist missionary to Liberia. He arrived in March, having on his voyage touched at Cape de Verds, Bathenst, on the Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and conferred with many intelligent and religious men at the English settlements. He regularly organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Monrovia, purchased the mission house which was built by Mr. Ashmun, and selected several important points for missionary stations. But his health, which had long been feeble, failed before he had done much towards the accomplishment of his enlarged plans of benevolence, and on the 20th of July, his career of usefulness was closed by death. His own words better express his zeal and devotedness, than a volume written in his praise. “*Let thousands fall before Africa be abandoned.*”

The following paragraph in the Liberia Herald, shows that the colonists themselves were doing something for the missionary cause :

“According to the resolutions of the Managers of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the town of Monrovia, and colo-

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\*Through the able and generous efforts of Elliott Cresson, large contributions were obtained in England and Scotland, in aid of the American Colonization Society. It was in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh, that the name *Edina* was given to the settlement.

ny of Liberia, held on the 17th of May, 1833, at the Monrovia Baptist church, Adam W. Anderson, by proposal to said Board, was unanimously appointed a missionary by all present, to locate himself, for the space of one year, at Grand Cape Mount (West Africa) among the Vey people, to teach the children of natives, as far as possible, the English language, and to preach when opportunity would offer itself, to the adult part of the tribe. He will leave Cape Montserado in a few days, in prosecution of so arduous and important a duty. O! may much good be done through his instrumentality, among that idolatrous and perverse people, that the Saviour of mankind might receive abundant honor, even among the Heathen, to His great name."

In regard to the moral and religious condition of the colony generally, but little change had taken place. There were nine houses of worship in the various settlements, and the Sabbath and public worship were well observed.

This was a year of unusual sickness and mortality. Out of the six hundred and forty-nine emigrants that had arrived, one hundred and thirty-four died. Those of no particular class, nor from no particular section of the United States, were exempt from the fatal effects of the fever, though the emigrants from the North suffered most. The colony had been deprived of the services of Drs. Todson and Hall, both having returned to the United States on account of ill health, the duties of physician, for the whole colony, devolved on the agent, Dr. Mecklin, who himself was enfeebled by the fever, caused by exposure. The emigrants were located in settlements widely separated from each other. When attacked with fever, one physician could not, even if in good health, give them proper attention. The emigrants from the South, believing they were in no danger, imprudently exposed themselves to the various exciting causes of the fever, and when attacked, relied for remedies on some of their own company, rather than on the advice of those more experienced.

Among the deaths that occurred this year, none was more lamented than that of Francis Devany, (of consumption.) He was originally a slave, belonging to Langdon Cheves, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., and emigrated to Liberia at an early period of its settlement. He engaged in commerce, and accumulated a handsome fortune. He held for some time the office of high sheriff of the colony, and in the various relations of life, sustained and deserved the character of an honest man.

In their annual report, the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, while they deplored the suffering, and loss of life experienced in the colony, expressed undiminished confidence in the final success of their enterprise, and referred to still more disastrous events in the early history of American Colonization.—The comparative view given by them, was as follows: "The number which had been sent to the colony before the arrival of the expeditions above mentioned, as so severely afflicted, was

1872 persons, and the actual population of the colony (not including the recaptured Africans) in 1832, sixteen hundred and ninety-seven. The whole number of emigrants, including the expeditions of last year, and the recaptured Africans, (a part of whom only were removed from this country,) has been 3123, while the present population of the colony is stated to be 2816. About fifty of the colonists are believed to have been absent in the country, at the time this census was taken. Now, it should not be forgotten, that the early emigrants were exposed to almost every variety of hardship and suffering, that several fell in a contest with the natives, that from twenty to fifty at least, have returned, that some have perished by disasters upon the rivers and at sea, that all have had to contend with difficulties, inseparable from their enterprise, in an untried climate, and on a distant and uncultivated shore, and finally, that neither the information nor the pecuniary means of the Society, have at all times been such, as to enable it adequately, to fulfil the dictates of its own benevolence.

While the facts just stated, must excite painful emotions in the breast of every member of this Society, while all will feel that human life is not to be wantonly exposed or lightly regarded, neither (the Managers may be permitted to say,) on account of ordinary or temporary calamities, should a great case, undertaken from the purest motives, and for purposes of large and lasting good to mankind, be abandoned. The history of Colonization in America, proves how impotent were events, in themselves most afflictive and disheartening, to arrest the progress of settlements founded by men who grew wise in adversity, and gathered resolution and strength from defeat. The genius of our nation sprung from the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown, rebukes the despondency which would augur destruction to Liberia, because dark clouds have hung over it, and many valuable lives perished in laying its foundation. Nearly one half the first Plymouth emigrants died in the course of four months. The first three attempts to plant a colony in Virginia, totally failed. In six months, ninety of the one hundred settlers who landed at Jamestown died. Subsequently, in the same brief period, the inhabitants of this colony were reduced from five hundred to sixty; and long after, when £150,000 had been expended on that colony, and nine thousand people had been sent thither, its population amounted to but 1800 souls."

The report of Capt. Voorhees, of the U. S. ship John Adams, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated 14th of December, 1833, gave some interesting facts in relation to the condition of the colony.— "The importance of this settlement here, is daily developing itself, in various ways, and is always felt as a refuge of security and hospitality, both to the oppressed natives and the shipwrecked mariner. Lately a French oil ship was cast away to the south of Grand Bassa, where the crew, about twenty in number, were kindly received by the settlers at that place, and from which they safely travelled, uninterrupted, along the sea shore to Monrovia. Here

the generous hospitality of the people of Liberia, (though with humble means, and at their own expense,) prompted them to fit out a conveyance for the seamen, by the Government schooner, in which they were carried to their own settlement of Goree. And on our arrival here, I found a French man of war barque, the commander of which had been despatched by the Governor of Goree, to express the thanks of his country to the people of Liberia, for the charitable services which they had rendered their countrymen.

Monrovia appears to be in a thriving condition, and bears an air of comfort and neatness in the dwellings quite surprising. Several stone warehouses and stone wharves line the banks of the river; others are building, which, with schooners loading and unloading or repairing, afford an aspect and an air of business common to a respectable white population. All seem to be employed, good order and morality prevailing throughout. But cultivators of the soil are mostly needed here. A few mechanics might do well, such as ship-carpenters, blacksmiths, sail-makers, boat-builders, masons and house-carpenters. The settlement must move onwards, and with all its disadvantages, it appears a miracle, that it should be in such a state of advancement.

An intelligent man, about 60 years of age, with whom I conversed, stated that he had been here about eighteen months, and was getting on cleverly for himself and family, and that on no account would he return to the United States. "It was true he had not yet the luxuries nor the accommodations which he had been accustomed to in America, but the want of these were not to be brought into competition with his rights and privileges as a man in Liberia; for here only, in the consciousness of having no superior, did he feel himself a MAN, or had he ever before known what it was to be truly happy."

The colonial agent, Dr. Mecklin, who had done much to enlarge the territory and extend the influence of the colony, returned to the United States, and resigned his office as colonial agent. His health had been impaired by the arduous labors of his station, and the influence of the climate. A removal from a tropical region, seemed to offer the only hope of his recovery.

1834.

The first day of this year welcomed the arrival of a new colonial agent, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, which is thus announced in the *Liberia Herald* for January. "On the 31st ult. the ship *Jupiter* arrived in our harbor, having on board, as passengers, Rev. J. B. Pinney, recently appointed colonial agent by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, Dr. G. P. Todsén, colonial physician, Rev. Messrs. Spaulding and Wright, with their ladies, and Miss Ferington, missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. Mr. Laird and lady, Rev. Messrs. Cloud and Temple, missionaries of the Presbyterian church,



and Messrs. Williams and Roberts of this colony. The Jupiter also brings out about fifty emigrants. On New Year's day, at 10 o'clock, A. M. the new agency boat, recently procured from the U. States' ship John Adams, was despatched to the ship Jupiter, for the colonial agent, Rev. J. B. Pinney. About noon, he landed at Waring's wharf, where he was received by the civil and military officers, and the different uniform companies of the colony; he was then escorted to the agency house, where he was welcomed by the acting agent, G. R. McGill, Esq. Minute guns were fired from the time the boat left the ship till she arrived at the wharf."

Mr. Pinney had visited Liberia the preceding year as a missionary, and after examining several places on the coast and in the interior, and making arrangements for the prosecution of his work, he returned to the United States to improve his impaired health, report his prospects, and obtain associates in his enterprise. At the earnest solicitation of the Board, he accepted a temporary agency; on his arrival, he immediately applied himself to the discharge of his duties, which were arduous indeed. The agency house and other public buildings needed repairs, to render them fit for occupancy. The public store was without trade goods, the provisions were nearly exhausted, the paupers, or those who were a charge on the colony, were numerous, and badly provided for, and the public schooner used in obtaining provisions coast-wise, could not be used without expensive repairs. Late changes in the mode of appointing officers, and in the local regulations among the recaptured Africans, who were of different tribes, had produced dissatisfaction, and they were in a state of great disorder. The financial affairs of the colony were in great derangement. The mode of compensating officers employed by the Society, had induced speculation, and orders of the former agent, to the amount of several thousand dollars, were held by colonists, clamorous for their pay. The want of correct surveys, maps and land-marks, was a source of great trouble, among both farmers and owners of town lots; the field notes of the original surveys having been lost, it was impossible to settle the bounds of lots; and as the lots and farms had increased in value, the difficulty was the more felt. Mr. Pinney corrected many abuses, satisfied the public creditors, and relieved the sufferings of the poor; but in accomplishing this, he only consolidated the colonial debt by drafts on the treasury of the Society. This debt had been accumulating for the last two years, the funds of the Society being insufficient to meet the expenses of sending out, and providing for the unusual number of emigrants which had arrived during that time. To make the expenses on the public buildings, and provide for the various and necessary repairs of the colony, he was under the necessity of negotiating drafts on the treasury of the Society for \$11,000 over and above all means furnished him by the Board of Managers. He succeeded in restoring order among the recaptured Africans, by allowing the Congoes and Eboes each to elect their own civil officers. Although these people had made

great advances in civilization, their notions of caste were, to some extent, still retained. The farms and lots were resurveyed and permanent land-marks established.

In addition to the emigrants by the *Jupiter*, another company of about fifty arrived this winter in the *Argus*. These were the last that came out this year, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society.

An expedition sent out in the brig *Ann*, by the Maryland Colonization Society, to form an independent settlement, after visiting Monrovia and Grand Bassa, and taking with them twenty or thirty acclimated citizens proceeded to Cape Palmas, where they arrived on the 11th of February. This Society had taken every precaution to insure the success of their colony. They furnished a large stock of trade goods, tools and agricultural implements; the emigrants were well selected, and the Society was fortunate in securing the services of an excellent agent, Dr. Hall, whom they instructed to exclude ardent spirits in trading with the natives. He succeeded in procuring an eligible tract of land on the Cavally river, well adapted to agriculture, to which employment the industry of colonists was to be exclusively directed. The native kings, from whom the purchase was made, expressed much satisfaction at the proposal of the Americans to settle among them, and a great desire for the establishment of schools. Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, who accompanied the expedition, after taking a survey of the coast from Monrovia to Cape Palmas, with reference to a missionary establishment, returned to the United States.

In the summer, the *Jupiter* returned to Monrovia with stores, agricultural implements and trade goods, to the amount of \$7,000. Among her passengers, were Rev. Ezekiel Skinner, missionary and physician, Dr. McDowall, a physician from Scotland, and Charles H. Webb, one of the colored medical students, educated by the Board, and who was to complete the study of his profession in the colony. Mr. Searle and Mr. Finley, both young men of liberal education, came out as teachers, under the patronage of the Ladies' Association of New York city.

Mr. Pinney's health was so bad during this summer, as to render him incapable of attending to his public duties, and several works and improvements which he had commenced, were consequently retarded or suspended. Dr. Skinner was employed to aid in the transaction of public business, while, at the same time, he successfully pursued the practice of his profession as a physician, and attended to his missionary duties.

Mr. Seys of the Methodist Episcopal church, appointed to the charge of their Liberia mission, arrived in October. A more judicious selection could scarcely have been made. A native of the West Indies, he had nothing to fear from the climate; was acquainted with the agriculture of tropical latitudes, experienced in business, industrious and persevering, conciliating in his manners, and a zealous christian. He visited the various settlements, and in

a few weeks after his arrival, had established a school at New Georgia, in which twenty-eight children and fifty-eight adults were taught—and one at Edina with forty-three scholars.

The Colonial Council had passed an ordinance for the suspension of the public schools, until some plan should be devised for conducting them more successfully. There was a great want of suitable teachers, school books and stationery; and beside, the council wished to appropriate the public funds to the erection of a new court-house and jail.

The girls' schools, at Monrovia and Caldwell, were flourishing. An interesting notice was given of them in the following extract of a letter, written by an old and respectable colonist:

"I am happy to inform you, that the schools supported by the ladies of Philadelphia, continue to exert the most beneficial influence on our rising generation, and many will live to bless the name of Beulah Sansom. We had an exhibition of Mrs. Thompson's school, in the Methodist meeting house, and I cannot express the great interest felt on the occasion. Our ware-houses were shut up, so that all might attend. It was very largely attended, although each had to pay twelve and a half cents. Mr. Eden's school, at New Georgia, among the recaptured Africans, is doing well. Our new and excellent Governor Pinney, is quite indefatigable in his labors to push forward the interests of the colony, and strongly reminds us of the sainted Ashmun. He has determined upon taking measures to re-establish a public farm near Caldwell, on the plan of Mr. Ashmun, where all idle persons and vagrants may be placed. Many persons are going to farming, and I am within bounds when I say that three times the quantity of ground will be put under cultivation this season, over any preceding year."

The cause of African missions suffered severely this year, by the death of the Rev. Mr. Laird and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Cloud, of the Presbyterian church, and the Rev. Mr. Wright and wife, of the Methodist Episcopal church, individuals who, by their talents, zeal and piety, were qualified for extensive usefulness in the work to which their lives were cheerfully devoted.

There had been a number of deaths among the emigrants who came out in the *Argus*, but few instances of mortality had since occurred; among these were the death of Rev. C. M. Waring; who emigrated from Virginia in 1823, pastor of the first Baptist Church, member of the Colonial Council, and who had twice filled the office of Vice Agent; and the Rev. G. V. Cesar, from Connecticut, a minister of the Episcopal Church, and Surveyor of the Colony. Charles H. Webb, who promised to be very serviceable to the Colony in the practice of medicine, fell a victim to the local fever, or to his own imprudence while it was upon him.

A very valuable tract of land at Bassa Cove was purchased for the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, whereon to establish a Colony. This was deemed as favorable a location

for a settlement as any on the coast of Western Africa. The land was rich, lying on the St. John's river, which affords boat navigation far into the interior; the anchorage in the roadstead good; the sites for towns on the sea coast eligible. The first expedition to this place was by the ship *Ninus*, which carried out 126 emigrants, 110 of whom were manumitted slaves, freed by the will of Dr. Hawes, of Virginia. They were settled under the agency of Dr. McDowall, and it is worthy of remark that the planting of this Colony broke up an extensive slave factory. This settlement was made on strict Temperance and Peace principles, furnished with neither arms nor liquors.

The native tribes on the sea coast who had leagued together ten years before to destroy the colonists, and met with such signal defeat, had ever since courted their favor, and to save themselves from the attacks of the more powerful nations in the interior, had applied for the protection of the Colonies, which was extended to ten kings and head men with their people; all of whom were subject to the jurisdiction of the Colony, and enjoyed the protection of their laws.

Dr. Skinner's opinion of the influence of colonization in ameliorating the condition of the native Africans is forcibly expressed in the following extract:

"I become daily more convinced that the Colonization cause is the cause of God. Slavery in a form, far more horrid than in the United States, exists in an unknown extent, spread over this vast continent. A general effort to civilize and christianize the natives, is the only means of putting it down. Slave factories are established all along the coast, *Liberia only excepted*, from which thousands every year are carried into perpetual bondage. There is no other conceivable means to abolish it but by the establishment of colonies on the coast. I would aid the cause of christianity and colonization here, if Jew or infidel, and so would every man that knew the facts, and had the least regard for the temporal welfare of millions that are in this land. Had I a thousand lives I would devote them all in such an enterprise as is now going forward here. All the money necessary would be furnished, did the christian public know the facts, and what was needed. That there are difficulties in our way is true, and that there has been some bad management here is also true; but shall these things discourage us, and lead us to give up the only conceivable means of meliorating the condition of millions of our fellow men? Shall we forsake the last plank, the only ground of hope, for causes such as these? What would have been the fate of christianity had such been the dastardly spirit of its first propagators?"

1835.

At the annual meeting of the Colonial Council in January, an

ordinance was passed giving township powers to the various settlements. 'This was considered a favorable measure for the cause of Temperance as it enabled the several corporations to prohibit the introduction of ardent spirits by fines. It also gave them power to levy taxes for the support of schools, and the building of roads, bridges, &c.

An important improvement was made in the judiciary by creating a Court of Appeals, which measure, however, was not carried, without considerable and warm debate.

The Temperance cause had become the subject of much interest in the Colony. Two meetings were held in January for the purpose of promoting it; a Society was formed, and other measures used to enlist popular feeling in its favor. The Society, which at first consisted of 43 persons, was soon increased to 503, upon the pledge of total abstinence. A Temperance Society was also formed at Edina this year. Captain Outerbridge, of the brig Rover, who spent some time at Monrovia, wrote, "I saw but one man the worse for liquor while I was at Monrovia, that is, among the Americans, but before I arrived I expected to see them lying about the streets drunk as we do in the States."

On the 18th of January, the brig Bourne, of Baltimore, touched at Monrovia on her way to Cape Palmas, with 54 emigrants.

In April, the brig Rover, from New Orleans, arrived at Monrovia with 71 emigrants. These were not inferior in good character and intelligence to any company of emigrants that had ever come to the Colony. At a public meeting held at New Orleans before their departure, they all formed themselves into a Temperance Society on the principle of total abstinence; some of them possessed considerable property.

The August number of the Liberia Herald (edited at this time by Hilleary Teage) announces the following arrivals:

"On the 9th instant, the brig Louisiana, Captain Williams, arrived from Norfolk, Virginia, with 46 emigrants, 38 of whom are recaptured Africans, principally, we believe, from the Nunez and Pongas. They are a strolling people. A number of their countrymen, and among them some acquaintances, have found their way to this settlement. They were hailed by their redeemed brethren with the most extravagant expressions of joy."

On the 12th instant, the Susan Elizabeth, Captain Lawlin, arrived from New York. Passengers, Dr. E. Skinner, Colonial Agent, and daughter. Rev. Mr. Seys and family, of the Methodist Episcopal mission. Rev. Messrs. Crocher, and Myln and lady, of the Baptist mission. We hail with joy the arrival of the passengers by this vessel. We are led to hope that this portion of the moral vineyard is about to be regarded with special interest. Surely if any portion of the earth has a claim upon another, Africa has a claim upon the United States.

On the 14th instant, the schooner Harmony, Captain Paschal, from Baltimore, with 27 emigrants for Cape Palmas, arrived. This

expedition has been long expected at Cape Palmas, and will, no doubt, prove an acceptable reinforcement to Dr. Hall.

On the 19th instant, ship *Indiana*, Captain Wood, arrived from Savannah, with 65 emigrants, among whom was Dr. Davis and family.

These repeated arrivals, following so closely in the track of each other, seem to have given some degree of uneasiness to the natives. They do not understand it; and imagining that Americans move by the same principles that they do, that is to say, animal motives, they conclude that "Rice be done for big 'Merica," and hope they will plant more next year, or "black man will no have place for set down."

Owing to the unfortunate result of the noble and benevolent experiment at Bassa Cove, the emigrants were landed at this place, to wait, as we suppose, orders from home.

The Bassa Cove settlement had not been provided with the means of defence. The great anxiety expressed by the native kings to have a colony planted at that place, and their solemn pledges to protect it, induced the Pennsylvania Society to rely on their good faith; and when the colonists complained that a hostile disposition was manifested by the natives, the Agent, Mr. Hankinson, took no measures of precaution, and even refused the proffered assistance of the people of Edina, who tendered their services to defend the colony. On the same night the natives, under King Jo Harris, and his brother, King Peter Harris, attacked the colony, murdered twenty of the defenceless inhabitants, and burnt the town. The Agent, Mr. Hankinson, and lady, were saved by the friendly aid of a Kroo, who concealed them and secured their escape. This murderous act was induced by a slave trader, who, on coming to anchor in the harbor, discovered that a colony of Americans had been planted on the river, and refused to land his goods, alleging that the colonists would interrupt his trade. King Jo Harris finding that the trade in slaves was likely to be thus cut off, resolved on the destruction of the settlement. Had the colonists been armed the attack would not probably have been made. One gun owned by a colonist, and often used by his next neighbor, (which fact had been noticed by some of the natives,) saved both houses unmolested, and the families uninjured. The colonists who escaped, were carried to Monrovia, and their wants provided for. The Agent at Monrovia took immediate measures to chastise the people who had committed this outrage. After demanding redress, which was refused, an armed force was marched against the aggressors, who were routed and their towns destroyed. The offending kings gladly accepted a peace, agreeing to abandon the slave trade forever, and to permit the interior natives to pass through their country to trade with the colony, and, also, to build a number of houses to replace those destroyed, and pay for or return the property carried away. As soon as peace was concluded, the Agent of the American Colonization Society,

Dr. Skinner, proceeded to lay out a town on a site which he described as healthy and beautiful. A part of the town plot was cleared, and buildings commenced for the reception of the dispersed citizens.

The native kings in the neighborhood of Cape Mount, were engaged in a bloody war, carried on with more than ordinary ferocity; and King Boatswain was at war with several of the more interior nations, who had leagued together to resist this tyrant and prince of slave-dealers. Commissioners were sent out by the Colonial Agent, to negotiate a peace. They were well received, but unsuccessful in their mission.

A school was established on the Junk river for the instruction of the natives, by Mr. and Mrs. Titler, (colored people,) under the patronage of the Western Board of Foreign Missions, with very encouraging prospects of success. The head men provided the missionaries with a house, and promised a supply of rice and other necessary provisions for the pupils. The natives placed their girls as well as boys under the missionaries to learn "white man fash."

The several schools in the colony, supported by benevolent people in the United States, were prosperous. But had the colonists been able duly to appreciate the importance of public schools, it was impossible to obtain a sufficient number of suitable teachers from among themselves.

For a considerable time dissatisfaction had been expressed by some of the colonists, with the administration of the Government, and as the executive power was vested in the Colonial Agent, who was often changed, and much of the time when in discharge of his official duties, was enfeebled by sickness, no doubt some ground for dissatisfaction existed. It was equally probable that men, having so recently commenced the study and practice of republicanism, should mistake salutary restraints for oppression, and regard as tyrants those who enforced obedience to necessary laws. Nor was it an easy task to furnish laws suited to the peculiar circumstances of the colonists; and when defects were ascertained, much time necessarily elapsed before the evil could be remedied. It was, however, creditable to the colonists that their real or supposed grievances gave rise to no violent measures for redress.

This year the fifth Baptist Church in the colony was formed at Caldwell, and the first annual meeting of the Liberia Baptist Association held at Monrovia, in October, which was a joyful and profitable season. Quarterly and protracted meetings were held this fall in the Methodist Churches, which were greatly blessed; and there were revivals of religion in nearly all the settlements.

1836.

Most of the settlers had returned to Bassa Cove. They were

greatly assisted in establishing themselves by Dr. Skinner. Soon after his return from that settlement he had the pleasure of welcoming Thomas Buchanan, Agent of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies, who arrived at Monrovia on the first of January, with abundant supplies for the relief of their infant colony. After collecting the remaining emigrants from Monrovia and the surrounding settlements, he proceeded, on the 8th instant, to Bassa Cove.

A much more eligible site for a town was now selected at the mouth of the St. John's, about three miles distant from that on which the first company had located. By the activity and perseverance of the Agent, the settlement was soon put in a condition to defy attacks from the natives. The settlers were placed in comfortable houses, and busily engaged in clearing and cultivating their farms; public buildings were erected, the necessary officers appointed to administer the laws, a church built, the town plot cleared, and the native kings who had destroyed the settlement, compelled to fulfil the stipulations of their treaty, by which they were bound to pay for property destroyed or carried away. A profitable trade was opened with the natives in the interior, and a valuable accession of territory acquired, lying around the bight of the Cove, adjoining the former purchase, and extending along the sea coast ten or twelve miles. The acquisition of this territory gave the colony jurisdiction over the only place accessible to the slavers in that vicinity, and was considered very important as the site of a sea port town.

The tract of land near the mouth of the Junk river, which had been bought by Mr. Pinney, and the title, afterwards disputed by some of the Junk people, was this year secured to the Society by farther negotiations, on terms satisfactory to the former claimants. A town of more than a mile square, was laid off in three hundred and ninety-two lots during the spring, and a number of the colonists and recaptured Africans commenced the settlement of Marshall. This place was beautifully situated, on rising ground, between the Junk and Red Junk rivers, and fanned by fresh breezes from the ocean.

In April, the brig *Luna*, from Norfolk, arrived at Monrovia, bringing 82 emigrants, a majority of whom were young men, and several preachers of the gospel. One of them, the Rev. B. R. Wilson, a missionary of the Methodist church, had spent several months in the colony, and returned to the United States for his family.—This company of emigrants was destined for the new settlement at Marshall, but circumstances detained them at Monrovia until they had taken the fever of the country, which, in several cases, proved fatal.

In July, 42 emigrants arrived in the schooner *Swift*, from New Orleans. The character of this company was equally good as that of the preceding arrival. Most of them were industrious, and



accustomed to work on plantations. They settled immediately at Millsburg.

In August, the brig *Luna*, from New York, brought 84 emigrants to Bassa Cove. They arrived in good health and spirits, and, being principally industrious and intelligent farmers, were a valuable acquisition to the settlement.

Dr. Skinner purchased a small tract of land for the American Colonization Society, in the neighborhood of Edina, on the margin of the bay which forms the outlet of St. John's river.

At the request of the Mississippi Society, he also purchased a tract of land from the natives, on the river Sinoe, about half way between Bassa Cove and Cape Palmas, as the site of a settlement to be established by that society, and appointed D. Johnson, an intelligent Monroviaian, to prepare for the accommodation of emigrants.

The conflicting claims for lots and farms, which grew out of hasty and imperfect surveys, frequent changes of agents, and carelessness in keeping records, had become a fruitful source of difficulty. Notwithstanding all that had been done by his predecessor, Dr. Skinner had much labor in resurveying lands, and making equitable settlements between contending parties. Persevering in his labors, after his exposure, had brought on repeated attacks of fever, he was at length so reduced as to be obliged to leave the colony and return to the United States.

On his departure, the administration of Government devolved on A. D. Williams, the Lieutenant Governor. This title and that of Governor had, by order of the Board, superseded those of agent and vice agent.

The revenue arising from imports this year, was \$3,500, applicable to colonial improvements and payment of the salaries of certain officers. It had been expended in a way not satisfactory to the Legislative Council; the money had disappeared, but the vouchers of the disbursing officers did not cover the amount which came into their hands. The editor of the *Herald*, after noticing the squabbles in the United States, relative to the "Sub-Treasury," remarked that "their treasury was all *sub*."

But, although speculation and fraud might have sometimes been committed by the receiving or disbursing officers, these practices were not without precedent in governments farther advanced in political science; and, however imperfect the system of finance adopted by the colonial legislature, the general adaptedness of their laws to the condition and wants of the people, would not suffer, by comparison with the colonial legislation of the United States.— Their laws for the collection of debts, enforcing the fulfilment of contracts, securing persons and property, prove that the colonists are not incapable of self-government.

The first murder that ever occurred in the colony, was committed this year. A recaptured African, of the Congo tribe, named Joe Waldburgh, was murdered by an Ebo, named John Demony,

at the instigation of Waldburgh's wife. The crime was marked by the most aggravating circumstances. The parties were tried, Governor Skinner presiding, and condemned to be hung. The execution took place on the 22d of July.

The wars among the natives, which continued with little interruption, subjected the colonists to great inconvenience. Natives, under the protection of the colony, were sometimes seized and sold to the slave dealers, by whom every effort was made to set the natives against the colonists. Scarcity of provisions among the natives led some of them to make depredations upon the plantations of Millsburg and Caldwell. Rice was scarce and dear in the colony, which occasioned much suffering, especially among the poorer classes. In November, some of the paupers were placed on the public farm, where they could be employed to advantage, with the prospect of soon being led from the cassada and other vegetables, several acres of which had been planted for their use.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas continued to prosper. From the commencement of this settlement, in 1833, the society had sent out seven expeditions, containing in all about three hundred emigrants. The village of Harper contained about twenty-five private houses, and several public buildings; a public farm of ten acres had been cleared, and about thirty acres put under cultivation by the colonists. Their influence on the natives was salutary: schools were established in the settlement, and the people were pronounced, by their late intelligent Governor, Dr. Hall, moral, industrious, religious, and happy. This gentleman had resigned his office, and J. B. Russwurm, former editor of the *Liberia Herald*, was appointed to that station.

The mission in this settlement, established by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, was most successfully conducted. In addition to the missionaries already engaged in their work, the brig *Niobe*, from Baltimore, which arrived in December with 32 emigrants, brought out Thomas Savage, M. D., missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Reverend D. White and Lady, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Mr. James, a colored printer, sent out by the same Board as an assistant missionary, and Mr. David James, a colored missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The blessings flowing from Christian ordinances and Christian communion, continued to be enjoyed in all the settlements. The heathen around and in the midst of them were not neglected by the ministers of Christ, and the zeal of the missionaries was unabated. The Reverend Mr. Seys, who had recently returned from a visit to the United States, and brought with him one white and one colored Methodist preacher, wrote under date of December 21: "I preached in Krootown, this afternoon, to a congregation of Kroomeu. I spoke without an interpreter, in broken English, compounded of the most common terms of our language, and many that are peculiar to the African, and were familiar to me from my

infancy. They listened to us with deep attention, and when we went to prayer, in conclusion, they come around us, and not content to kneel simply, they bowed down their faces to the earth.

"Let me urge it upon the Church to have pity upon this intelligent and teachable tribe. O send us a missionary for Kroo Settra. They beg, they intreat us to send them a teacher—a man of God. We shall make an additional effort to plant the standard of the Redeemer among the Condoes."

The following will show the kind of influence which the colonists have over the natives:

Dr. Hall, Governor of the Maryland colony, finding the subjects of his neighbor, King Freeman, to be very great thieves, and being much annoyed by their continual pilfering, determined to make the king pay for the articles stolen by his people. The King complied for sometime. The demands, however, became so frequent, that he at length objected. The Doctor told him that as he was king, he could make such laws as he pleased, and that if he did not make laws to surrender the thieves to him for punishment, he would hold him responsible. The king made many inquiries of the Doctor in relation to his laws, where he got them, the manner of executing them, &c. On being informed that they were made by the Society's Board at Baltimore, King Freeman resolved to send his head man, Simleh Balla, to Baltimore to get him a book of laws. Simleh visited Baltimore, was introduced to the Board, and delivered the following speech (as nearly as it could be written:)

"I be Balla, head-man for King Freeman of Cape Palmas. Him send me this country. I come for peak his word. Pose him sava book, I no come; he make book and send him; but cause he no sava make book, I come for look country and peak him words.

Long time past, slave man come we country. He do we bad too much, he make slave, he tief plenty man for sell. By and by all slave man knock off. This time we no sell slave, no man come for tief him. All man glad this palaver done sit. Beside that we have plenty trouble. All man have to go for ship for get him ting, iron, cloth, tobacco, guns, powder, and plenty, plenty little ting. Some time canoe capsized, man lose all him money. Some time he die, plenty water kill him; him can't come up. This hurt we too much, and make we heart sorry. By and by one white man come we country. He bring plenty black American man. Him buy we country, we give him land for sit down. Him say he come for do country good. Him bu'd house—put all him money shore—make farm—make road—make all country fine. This time all good ting live shore—no more go ship. Every man can buy that ting him want. No money lose—no man lose. This make all men heart glad—made king's heart glad. King tell me, 'Balla, go that country: see how this ting be. Tell them people all we heart say. Thank him for that good ting them do for we country. Beg him for send more man, for make house, make

farm—for bring money, and for make all little child sava read book, all same America men. I done.' ”

The Board kindly furnished a simple penal code in language that the natives could understand. On reading it to Simleh, the clause limiting every man to one wife alarmed him, and he expressed his disapprobation in the following language :

“ ‘No good for my countryman.’ ‘Why not, Simleh?’ ‘Me tell you. I got four wives. Spose I send three away, and keep Bana—she pretty—she young—no man give ‘em rice—no man take care of ‘em—they die—pickaninny die too—no good law that? There was so much reason in his objection, that an immediate reply was not made to him, and after a shot pause, he went on—‘Me tell you. Spose that law no good law for me—well—that law good for my son—he pickaninny now—got no wife—by-um-by he want wife—I say, King Freeman say you only have one wife—so all men. When I got my four wives, I no saba that law. When my son get wife, he saba law—he do what law say. Yes, that good law for time come.’ Simleh’s idea of an *ex post facto* law was correct, and he was instructed to explain this article of the code to King Freeman as prospective only in its operation.

After the return of Simleh to King Freeman, the laws being adopted and found to be popular and productive of the happiest results, the King applied to the Rev. Mr. Wilson to write him a letter of thanks to the Board at Baltimore, as follows :

“ *King Freeman to the gentlemen of the Colonization Board of Baltimore—Naheveo, (greeting :*

Mr. Wilson be hand for me and Simleh Balla be mout for me for make dis book, but de word come from me own heart. He be true I send Balla for look you—he eye be all same me eye, and dat word he peak be all same he come out me own mout. You do Balla good when he lib to your hand, dat be all same you do good for King Freeman. I tank you for dat, Balla tell me you hab fine country, I believe what he say, cause he no fit for tell lie. I tank you berry much, gentlemen, for demdash you send me. I like um plenty and go keep um all de time. But I tank you berry much for dem law you send me—he be good law and all my people go do him. Pos’ I hab dem law first time I no go do fool fash all time—dis time I go make all me people do dat ting what you law tell me. I tank you plenty gentlemen, for dem good law. I tell all man go hear Misser Wilson talk God palaver, and yiserday so much man go till plenty hab for to stand outside de house.

Soon Balla go for Merica first time me go long way bush and tell all man say he must make fine road and bring plenty trade for Cape Palmas. Me heart tink say he guin do him soon.

Me hear you say you hab plenty slave in you country. Me hab one word for peak dem. You must come me country dem you be *freemen* for true. Dis country be big and plenty room lib here. Pos you come, I peak true, me heart be glad plenty for look you.

'Pos any gentleman want come me want him for come too—me heart glad for see dem too much.

Me word be done now—I tank you berry much for you dash and you law. I go lub you till me dead. Me send you one country chair for you look at. Me go put pickinniny country word for you see.

A good child loves his father, he loves his mother.

KING FREEMAN, *alias* PA NIMMAH."

1837.

The Rondoubt, from Wilmington, N. C. arrived at Monrovia on the 4th of February with 30 emigrants. Dr. D. F. Bacon, who had been appointed Colonial physician, came out in this vessel, and immediately entered upon his professional duties. The following is extracted from his communication to the Board, dated February 15 :

"I found the Colony in a peaceful, prosperous, and healthy condition. The public prosperity and general comfort have been greatly promoted under the faithful and active government of Mr. Williams, whose business-like management has effected a reform in affairs that has given me a satisfaction which I know the Board and all the friends of the Colony will share on perceiving the results as reported by him officially. In my own department I have found much that required active attention ; for although there is not a single case of the common fever in the Colony, (unless at Edina from which I have not yet heard,) there are in all this section, besides a few light cases of croup, about fifteen or twenty cases of chronic disorders resulting from debility, mostly in old broken down constitutions, which have been long suffering for want of the aid of a regular physician ; the Colony having been left entirely to the medical assistants ever since the departure of Dr. Skinner in September.

The people, in general, I believe to be remarkably quiet, inoffensive, and peaceable, more so than in any part of the United States where I have lived. Ever since I have established myself on shore, all have combined to treat me with the greatest attention and kindness ; and since beginning my business here as physician I have met with nothing but the most polite and civil usage. My medical assistants in this quarter, Messrs. Prout, Brown, and Chase, have been very polite and attentive, and have promptly pledged themselves to become active and serviceable to the Colony under my directions." Dr. McDowall left your service long since, and resides wholly at Bassa Cove."

The Governor, in his official communication of the same date, wrote, "I am happy in being able to say that at present the Colony is peaceful and tranquil. A growing attention still continues to be paid to Agriculture ; indeed the whole community seems to be

awaking to the subject. No former period of the Colony can boast of as great an extent of land under tillage as at present.

In order to afford some encouragement to the settlers at Junk, as well as to prevent their eating the bread of idleness at the expense of the Society, I have established a farm there, on which they will work a part of the time in return for the articles with which the store there may provide them. The emigrants by the Swift have proved themselves an industrious, thrifty people. They have already raised two crops of culinary vegetables and other produce. The farm established on Bushrod Island is doing remarkably well, and will, I think, realize my former hope respecting it. All the paupers that require constant assistance are now on the farm, and those able to labor have their work regularly assigned to them. You will be astonished, no doubt, when I inform you that the former fearful number of mendicants has dwindled, since the commencement of this system, to twenty, including those who are only occasionally beneficiaries.

The emigrants by the Rondout are located at Millsburg, and already have their town lots assigned them; they will have their farms in a few days."

In May an Agricultural Society was formed. One of the conditions of membership was a subscription of five hundred dollars to a joint stock fund to be paid in quarterly payments. The object of this Society was the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the manufacture of sugar. Stock was taken by the most wealthy and enterprising inhabitants, and the investment promised to be advantageous both to the stockholders and the Colony.

In June there were twenty acres of the public farm under successful cultivation, six acres of which were in sugar cane. The crops on the public farm at Junk were also promising. With a view to encourage agriculture and the raising of stock, twenty acres, instead of five, were allotted to those who had not before drawn farms, on condition that deeds should not be given until five acres were under good cultivation.

There were 450 acres of land under excellent cultivation in the Colony, exclusive of the settlements of Edina and Bassa Cove; at both of which places they were applying themselves successfully to agriculture. At Bassa Cove there were ten acres of rice in one field.

Owing to the wars, which for the last two years had raged with little intermission along the coast, the natives were nearly in a state of starvation, and the Caldwell and New Georgia people had for some months supplied them with cassada, which was almost the only article of provision that could be obtained. Rice was very scarce.

The Mississippi Society fitted out a company of emigrants for their new settlement on the Sinoe, which sailed in the Oriental from New Orleans in April, under the care of J. F. C. Finley. They arrived unexpectedly at Monrovia, where they were obliged

to remain some time before proceeding to their place of destination.

In the summer the brig *Baltimore* brought 55 emigrants to the Maryland Colony. A majority of these were emancipated by the will of Richard Tubman, Esq., of Georgia, on condition of their emigrating to Liberia, and ten thousand dollars bequeathed to the Colonization Society for the expenses of their emigration and settlement. They were of good character, and experienced cotton planters. Many of them were acquainted with some trade.

The Charlotte Harper arrived on the 4th of August, at Bassa Cove, with supplies for the colony to the amount of \$10,000. The passengers in this vessel were the Rev. John J. Matthias, who had been appointed Governor of the colony, and his wife, Dr. Wesley Johnson, assistant physician to the colony, David Thomas, millwright, Misses Annesley, Beers, and Wilkins, teachers, and Dr. S. M. E. Goheen, physician to the Methodist Mission, at Monrovia, and four colored emigrants.

The thriving settlement of Edina, separated by the St. John's River from that of Bassa Cove, was this year, by an arrangement entered into between the American Colonization Society and the Pennsylvania and New York Society, transferred to the latter Society, the people of Edina consenting thereto. This was a favorable arrangement for both settlements, as it united their strength and identified their interest, while it lessened the expense of their Government.

Mrs. Matthias and Miss Annesley both died in a few months after their arrival in Africa, and within two or three days of each other. These pious missionaries were intimately attached to each other in America. Together they consecrated themselves to the cause of Africa, and together were called from the field which they had barely been permitted to enter and survey.

Governor Matthias wrote from Bassa Cove, December 18, 1837 : "There is not a finer climate for the colored man in the world, nor a soil more fertile. It is now summer. The thermometer for a month past has ranged from 79 to 84, and the season will continue until May, during which period the thermometer will not rise above 86.

Although the "Watchman" has been pleased to ridicule our organization as a republic, nevertheless we are a State with all its machinery. The editor would be induced to change his views, were he to see our well dressed and disciplined troops, and their management of arms. I should venture nothing in comparing them with the militia any where at home.

"Our courts of justice, of sessions, and the supreme court, the clerks and sheriffs, with the prosecuting attorney, with great readiness, perform their respective duties.

"To see members of council gravely deliberating on matters of interest to the commonwealth and good government, together with merchants transacting their business with as much skill and pro-

piety almost as at Middletown, is truly astonishing, considering the short period since our organization. Our chief clerk, for example, one of the children taken by the enemy in Ashmun's war, and restored after a detention of some months, besides writing a beautiful hand, can, in a twinkling, cast up any account, and make his calculations, without pen or pencil, in the sale of articles, with as much accuracy as any of your merchants.

"I am preparing, if well, to go up the St. John's, to hold a palaver with six or eight head men and kings for the purchase of their country. A great change has taken place among them; they seem desirous of being allied to us, for the protection of themselves against each other's aggression.

"December 25. We have now as fine a court-house as there is in Liberia. Benson has finished quite an elegant house, and others are laboring not only to stay here but to live. The government house is nearly finished. We have laid out the yard into walks and grass plots; on the margin of the walks we have planted the cotton tree and papaw. I have just returned from partaking of an agricultural dinner, not given by us of the government, but by the farmers. We had mutton, fish, and fowl, and a superfluity of vegetables. The table was set under some palm trees in Atlantic street; there were, I should judge, about fifty persons present. You need be under no apprehensions but that farming will go on. We mean to plant the coffee tree throughout our farm.

"We have bought, as you have been apprized, of Yellow Will, a large tract of beautiful upland. There are four native towns on it. King Yellow Will is, therefore, considered as allied to us by the neighboring head men and kings, who appear to be jealous of the honor, and determined to share it. They have sent me word that they would sell their lands."

The native kings, in carrying on their wars in the vicinity of the settlements, always regard the territory of the colony as neutral ground, to which the vanquished flee without fear of pursuit. Even slave-traders have surrendered those who have been stolen from off the territory of the colony, on the demand of the colonial authorities—hence the desire of the natives to sell their country to the colonists. They give up the jurisdiction of the country sold, and the right to buy and sell slaves, or engage in any way in the slave-trade, or make war upon their neighbors. In return, the right to occupy their towns and farms, and have them enlarged at pleasure, the same as if they were colonists, is secured to them; they are no longer exposed to be sold as slaves, or to be punished for witchcraft, and other imaginary crimes. Thus, in Liberia, colonization, instead of destroying gives protection to the natives, increases their comforts, abolishes the barbarous rites of devil-worship, by which multitudes have been yearly sacrificed, and is found to be a sure and effectual means of civilizing those brought under its influence.



The ninth expedition to Maryland in Liberia sailed from Baltimore on the 28th of November, with 86 emigrants, in the *Niobe*. In the same vessel the Protestant Episcopal Church sent out three missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Payne and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Minor, to join Mr. Savage, who was at the head of their establishment at Cape Palmas. The emigrants by the *Niobe* were all from Maryland, and nearly all of them persons of good character, who had been accustomed to labor, and left America under the conviction that their happiness and prosperity in Africa were only to be secured by persevering industry, and not expecting exemption from the toils incident to early settlers in a new country.

It had been the wise policy of the Maryland Society's Board, to send out industrious men, and by keeping general native trade in the hands of the Society, to make agriculture the main, and, indeed, except in the case of mechanics, the sole occupation of the colonists. The system of barter, which had been the chief means of inducing and cherishing the spirit of trade, so detrimental to the Monrovia settlement, and which was necessarily resorted to in the Maryland colony, threatened to defeat the wishes of the Board in regard to native trade, by obliging each colonist to keep on hand an assortment of goods to exchange for the articles wanted from the natives for the use of his family. It was at first proposed to send small silver coin to the colony, but the Board became satisfied, by the information they received, that it would be impossible to keep a sufficient quantity of silver there to answer any useful purpose, as it would soon be brought off by trading vessels stopping at the Cape. They prepared and forwarded certificates for five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred cents, receivable in payment for goods at the public store. To make these intelligible to the natives, there were represented on them objects to which they attached the value represented by the certificates—for instance, on the five cent certificate a head of tobacco—on the ten cent, a chicken—on the twenty-five cent, a duck—on the fifty cent, two ducks, and on the dollar certificate, a goat.

The Report of the Liberia Mission of the Methodist Episcopal church, represented this as a year of unparalleled prosperity. "The fervent and united prayers," said the Report, "with which we commenced 1837, have not been in vain. The thousands of pious hearts among the Christians of America, which have been supplicating a throne of Divine Grace for Africa, have not been pleading for nought."

Seasons of revival had been extensively experienced in the Colony, and more than twenty of the natives had been converted. Some of these were living in the families of the colonists, and had been trained to the knowledge of the Christian's God, while others were "right out of the bush."

At Millsburg, the Methodist church had increased, this year, from eleven to sixty-three. The White Plain manual labor school, near this settlement, had shared in the blessings of converting grace.

One of the native boys, at this school, received a visit from his father, and on being inquired for at a certain hour of the day to go to work with the other boys, was missing. The missionary found him in one of the upper rooms of the school house, pleading with his father to "look for the American's God," and get his soul converted to Christ.

The number of church members within the bounds of this mission, embracing all the settlements except Marshall, was 578.—The number of children in the schools, under its care, 221 attending day schools, and 303 the Sabbath schools.

One of the colored teachers at Monrovia, (Mrs. Moore, formerly Eunice Sharp,) wrote to a lady in New York, "I have a goodly number of pupils, from twenty years old to three, but not advanced in learning as they are in years. I have some very interesting little girls, I have watched them from the alphabet to more interesting things, I have seen them trying to point out the different countries on the map, I have heard them tell me the nature of a noun, conjugate a verb, and tell how many times one number is contained in another, but all this was not half so entertaining to me, as when I saw them crowding to the altar of God. Give God the glory, O, my soul! that mine eyes have seen the salvation of God upon my own people. I have heard the wild natives of Africa testify that God hath power on earth to forgive sin. Rejoice then, ye daughters of benevolence! The Judge of all the earth is answering your prayers in behalf of poor benighted Africa. Yes, though they have laid long upon the altar, he has smelled a sweet savor, and it appears to me that the day is beginning to dawn, and the day star is rising on this dark division of the earth. The way is opening for the poor native, who is now worshipping devils, to become acquainted with the worship of the true and living God."

The Rev. S. Chase, who came to Liberia in 1836, with a heart most zealously devoted to the cause of missions, and who promised to be extensively useful in spreading the gospel among the natives, was obliged, in consequence of protracted ill health, to return to the United States in the summer of this year.

1838.

*From the Liberia Herald, for February.*

"Arrived on the 12th ult., ship Emperor, with 96 emigrants from Virginia, of which 60 were emancipated by John Smith, Sr., Esq., of Sussex county. These people have all been bred to farming, and we hope they will prove an important accession to the agricultural interests of the colony. The physicians of the colony being united and unequivocal in their verdict in favor of the superior healthfulness of the inland settlements over that of Monrovia, these emigrants have all been placed at Caldwell and Millsburg, an event which will put this opinion to the test. Our opinion is, that either place is healthful. There is no earthly occa-

sion that colored people should die in establishing themselves in Africa. Let them only avoid the actual and obvious causes of disease, (which is neither more difficult nor more necessary to be done here than in all other countries,) and they may live their three score years and ten, and if they should have on their arrival, good cheer and plenty, they may even attain their four score years. There came passengers in this ship, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Clark, to join the Baptist mission at Edina, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Barton and mother, of the mission of the M. E. church, and Dr. Skinner and daughter. This latter gentleman has the medical charge of the colony."

It was a great disappointment to the Governor not to receive a sugar mill, which he expected by this vessel, as he had then six acres of promising thrifty cane, and was anxious to prove the practicability of cultivating and manufacturing the article, and thereby give an impulse to the business, but the cane was lost for want of the means of grinding.

In the early part of this year, the Bassa Cove settlement received an accession of 72 emigrants, who came in the barque Marine, from Wilmington, N. C.

One of these emigrants was Mr. Lewis Sheriden, a distinguished colored man from North Carolina. On visiting Gov. Mathias, and examining the laws for the government of the colony, he expressed much dissatisfaction, and refused to take the oath required of those who became citizens, alledging that he had left the United States on account of oppression, and that he should not subject himself to arbitrary government in Africa, and such he deemed that of the colony. However, after spending a few weeks in examining the country, and failing in an effort to induce the colonists to petition the Board for an amendment of the constitution, he resolved on locating at Bexley, six miles from Bassa Cove. As he was a man of wealth, and had been extensively and successfully engaged in business in Carolina, the rules observed in the allotment of lands to emigrants were dispensed with in his case.—He took a long lease of six hundred acres, and soon had in his employ a hundred men. Many of them were natives, who proved to be excellent laborers.

The inland and elevated situation of Bexley, and its rich soil, well adapted to the growth of sugar cane and the coffee tree, with such a man as Sheriden to excite to industry those around him, by his own example, may soon make it one of the most important agricultural settlements in Liberia.

Some of the Dey people, residing on the Little Bassa, had forcibly taken colonial property from those to whom its transportation to Edina, had been entrusted. On satisfaction being demanded for this outrage, the Deys readily agreed to pay for the property taken, also, to pay a debt due by them, to the colonial agent, and to secure the payment in four months, pledged a portion of their lands, embracing the mouth of the Little Bassa. The time of payment having expired, a commissioner was appointed to remind the Deys

of their promise, but only a renewal of it was obtained. The colonization agent, acting in accordance with the spirit of his instructions to treat the natives with all consistent lenity, pursued persuasive measures to induce this tribe to comply with their engagements, for eighteen months without success, when he sent two commissioners, accompanied by seventy-five armed men, with instructions to bring the business to a close by an amicable arrangement, if possible, but if no satisfaction could be obtained, they were to take possession of the land pledged. The Deys, conscious of their own duplicity, and fearful of being chastised for the robbery they had committed, retired from the coast; and, after spending eight days in fruitless efforts to bring them to a palaver, the colonists took possession of the territory pledged. This course was deemed necessary, for had the Deys escaped unpunished, their robberies would have become of frequent occurrence; forbearance is always interpreted by the natives to be weakness.

A man by the name of Logan, in disregard of the remonstrances of his friends, settled on the territory of the natives, north of the St. Paul's, and opened a farm. In a fracas with some Mandingoes in which he was concerned, one of them was killed. Logan was accused of the deed, arrested, and formally tried in the colony, and acquitted of the murder. Having returned to his farm, the party to which the murdered man belonged, went, a few days after, to Logan's house, under pretext of trading; not suspecting their designs he admitted them. As soon as they had entered, they seized and confined him, and after robbing the house of its contents, set it on fire, which, with the owner was consumed. Of three other persons in the house, an American, a Gourah, and a Bassa, the latter escaped, and the other two were taken captive. The Governor demanded of the Deys the surrender of the murderers, and satisfaction for the property destroyed. This demand was made in conformity with a treaty existing between the parties. The Deys pleaded ignorance of the murder and robbery, stating their weakness to be such, that they were forced to submit to see their own property taken and carried away at pleasure by the Mandingoes and Gourahs; and although they admitted their obligations to protect Americans, and their property, they alleged a want of ability to do so, and agreed to a proposal to relinquish a part of their territory, which would enable the colony to extend their jurisdiction and settlements in a direction that would give protection to the Dey people. Twenty-five square miles on the St. Paul's was transferred to the colony. The Board of Managers doubted the justice of these proceedings, and directed a full report to be made of all the circumstances, in the case, before assenting to the possession.

Some of the evils anticipated by many of the friends of the American Colonization Society in the establishment of separate settlements in Liberia, independent of each other, and under distinct governments, began to be realized. In reference to this sub-

ject, the Lieutenant Governor in a communication, dated May 8th, 1838, wrote as follows: "I regret to say, our neighbors of Bassa Cove and Edina seem to entertain the most hostile feelings towards the old colony, and every thing connected with it. They have manifested such a disposition as will, if continued, lead to serious difficulties between the settlements. The policy which the colonizationists are now pursuing is assuredly a bad one, and will inevitably defeat the object they aim to accomplish. Nothing can be conceived more destructive to the general good than separate and conflicting interests among the different colonies. And this consequence will certainly follow the establishment of separate and distinct sovereignties contiguous to each other. If societies must file off, and have separate establishments, their very existence depends upon their union, by some general and well-settled relations. They might be so far separate as to have peculiar local and internal regulations, but they should be controlled by general laws, and general supervision, and be so connected as to move on to one object in harmonious operation. The editor of the Liberia Herald expressed his views on the same subject in the following article from the July number for 1836:

"The formation of colonies along the coast, is beyond doubt, the surest way of breaking up the slave trade, as far as their influence may extend. But while we view with much satisfaction, the success of the colonization scheme, and the formation of new settlements, we would observe, that we deem it highly necessary that the several, and all the colonies now in existence, and those that may hereafter be formed, should be under the guidance of general laws; such a connexion would promote union, without which they could never prosper. Each settlement, independently should have its own laws and regulations for its internal government, like the several States of the Union in America. And like them should be bound and cemented together by one general government, and by one common interest. Such a union, of so much vital importance to the future prosperity and peace of the whole, would elevate the character of the Colonies in a degree to which they could not otherwise attain. By it, moreover, their strength would be increased, as well as their permanency, according to a common but true saying, "*united we stand.*" Instead of a few isolated settlements, often at variance with each other from selfish motives and conflicting interests, they would then present to the view of the beholder a number of small settlements, or States if you please, forming a rising Republic in Africa of one people and of one language, after the model of the great Union of America."

On the 9th of July a company of emigrants arrived at the Mississippi Colony,\* by the brig Mail, from New Orleans.

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\*If errors are found in the brief notices given of the Sinoe and Bassa Cove settlements, it is because the desired information in relation to them could not be obtained.

These emigrants were well provided with clothes, tools, and farming utensils; working animals were purchased for them at the Cape de Verd Islands, and with great cheerfulness they commenced improving their farms, which were already laid out. An agent had been employed to prepare houses, clear land and plant vegetables, so that the emigrants, on their arrival, found good quarters, and an abundance of cassada, rice, and potatoes..

Their town, Greenville, is on the Sinoe river, five miles from the mouth, and about two miles in a direct line from the sea. This settlement is deemed as healthy as any part of the State of Mississippi, and the land as rich.

The territory purchased by the Mississippi Society is narrow on the ocean, widening as it runs back, and contains over one hundred square miles.

Of the 37 emigrants by the brig Mail, 26 had been set free by Mr. Anketell, who had taken much pains to prepare them for freedom and usefulness.

An event occurred in the autumn of this year which cast a gloom over the infant but prosperous settlement of Greenville, and, in some measure, disturbed the peaceful relations existing between the colonists and natives.

About the 10th of September, the Governor left Greenville for Monrovia on business as well as for his health. On his way, he attempted to visit Bassa Cove. Landing about two miles below the settlement, he was robbed and murdered by the natives. The Governor seems to have placed too much confidence in a native whom he had with him, and to whom he had exposed the fact of his having a large sum of money about him. The faithlessness of this fellow in disclosing the circumstance of the money, no doubt occasioned the murder.

This outrage led to a war between the natives and the settlers of Bassa Cove, who had one or two of their people killed, several wounded, and some of their horses destroyed.

Previous to the news of this out-break, the most cheering intelligence had been received from the Bassa Cove settlement, of their health, their temporal and spiritual prosperity. Accounts from all the colonies were generally encouraging, though the Monrovia settlements were in want of adequate funds to carry forward their contemplated improvements, having for some time received but little pecuniary aid from the Society.

An official communication from Lieutenant Governor Williams, dated July 31, contained the following: "The interest manifested on the subject of agriculture is daily increasing, and the prospect brightening. All here feel the necessity of raising such articles of food as are required for our own wants, and in such quantities as to supply those wants. The greatest and only difficulty is to believe that, with the most abundant supply of African produce, the articles to which we were accustomed in America are not indispensable to our existence.

"The country is comparatively quiet; how long it will remain so cannot be conjectured. The elements of war and discord are always existent in African society.

"Your suggestions in regard to the propriety of altering and amending the constitution, I have thought best to submit to the consideration of the people at large. For this purpose I called a meeting in each settlement, in order to ascertain the public sentiment. The suggestion was immediately acted upon, and a committee of ten persons was appointed, who now have the subject under consideration. These persons are authorized to suggest such alterations and amendments, to any extent, as they may think adapted to our present state, and submit them to the Board.

"We are again destitute of stationery, and are very much in want of animals for draught work on farms."

It is much to be regretted that suitable working animals, with wagons, carts, ploughs, and drags, had not been early introduced into the colony. With these, agriculture would have advanced rapidly, and buildings would have been erected with comparative ease. To substitute the hoe for the plough, in agriculture, and manual labor for teams, in conveying building timber from the forest, and stone from the quarry, was tedious, expensive, and discouraging. That so much has been accomplished under such privations and disadvantages, excites our wonder.

Had the colonists been enabled, in 1825, to use the plough and drag in cultivation, they could, for the last ten years, have furnished provisions for all the emigrants as they arrived.

Dr. Taylor wrote from Millsburg in August: "With regard to the last emigration, it must be said they have done wonderfully well. They are all at work with very few exceptions. I hope and pray that the Society may soon raise her head; that her coffers may be filled to overflowing. I think that if the bitter opponents of the Colonization scheme, would only come to Millsburg and look at the prospect, and see that all that is wanting to make this a splendid place, and the people independent, is means, they could but say, I will give my support to this enterprise; though I advocate the elevation of the man of color in America, I am now convinced that this is the place where he can enjoy real freedom."

The Rev. B. R. Wilson, who was engaged in the manual labor school at Millsburg, and, at the same time, was pastor of a church in that place, consisting at first of but nine members, wrote as follows: "We have now a well organized church of about seventy members, and a fine school of native boys and girls, some of whom begin to read, and several profess to have religion, and have joined the church. I am more and more pleased with Africa."

A colonist wrote from Edina, to his former master, "You wish to know my situation, and how I like this part of the world. I am doing well, I have two good houses and three lots, also, forty acres of land, ten of which are in culture—coffee, cotton, cassada, plan-

tains, bannana, beans, rice, yams, papaws, and melons—these grow all the year here. One acre of land is worth two in the United States. In a word, sir, no man can starve that will work one third of his time. It is a beautiful country indeed. I would not return to the States again, to live, on any consideration whatever, even if slavery was removed. But, sir, we are freemen here, and enjoy the rights of men. What shall I say about want? Why, sometimes we want sugar and tea, also, butter and meat. But time will remove all this. I have plenty of milk and make butter, but there are a great many who have not cows and goats in abundance.

You would do well to send out some brandy to preserve such things as snakes, scorpions and other things, as spirits are prohibited here, and hardly used among us, and cannot be bought for money.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that this is a flourishing settlement indeed. The people thrive. All my children are well, and my wife has good health. The children are good English scholars, and James is studying medicine with Dr. Johnson."

A lyceum was formed in Monrovia for the diffusion of knowledge throughout the colony. A committee was appointed to collect specimens of natural and artificial curiosities. Two of each kind were to be forwarded to some scientific body in America or elsewhere, one retained, the other described, labelled and returned, at the expense of the lyceum. The president and corresponding secretary were to communicate with similar associations in the United States and elsewhere, and invite their aid and co-operation in advice, book, specimens, and whatever else may contribute to the object of their association.

It was stated in the Liberia Herald of the next month, that since the formation of the lyceum, some few collections of shells, rocks, minerals and plants had been made, that arrangements were on foot for a commodious room, in which the specimens could be kept and displayed to advantage. The question for the next debate was, "Whether it was good policy to admit indiscriminately, persons of all nations and color to become citizens of Liberia?"

Since the foundation of the Maryland colony, it has been the object of the Board, to send regularly, a spring and fall expedition. The spring expedition brought out 36 emigrants by the Columbia, of Baltimore, and the fall expedition, 53 emigrants by the Oberon, with Dr. McDowell and Dr. S. F. McGill. Dr. McDowell had practised medicine several years in Liberia. Dr. McGill, who is a colored man, had resided there from his childhood, with the exception of the last three years, spent in acquiring a medical education at Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, where he received his diploma. He brought with him an excellent medical library, and it was expected that by practising with Dr. McDowell, he would become qualified to succeed that gentleman as colonial physician, at the expiration of the year for which the Board had engaged his services.



Dr. McGill was instructed to select one or more young men of suitable capacity, and commence instructing them in medicine, with a view of having them sent to the United States to attend the necessary lectures. In this way, it was hoped that permanent medical skill could be secured in the colony.

It was evident that nothing was wanting but care during the first few months of their residence, to make this as healthy to the colored people as any place from which they emigrate.

The paper currency was found to answer fully the purpose intended, and it was with none more popular than with the natives themselves. While the system of barter was in vogue, a native scarcely ever sold an article to a colonist, and received merchandise in exchange, without being obliged to divide a portion of it among such friends as happened to be present when the bargain was struck, but when he was paid a piece of paper, this partnership of profits could not take place. This was perfectly understood by the natives, and hence the popularity with them of the paper currency.

Governor Russwurm wrote to the Board: "The direct tendency of the currency is to draw all business to the Society's store, and to induce the colonists to put by a part, instead of taking up, as formerly, every cent of their earnings. I think our next step will be a Savings bank, or a Benefit society, for mutual relief in cases of sickness."

Of the new code of laws which had been prepared with great care, the Governor wrote: "We are all much pleased with the new code of laws. The powers of the judges are well defined, and will save, among an ignorant community, much contention. I have not heard even a murmur against the code, though it strikes at the root of many preconceived opinions."

He added: "The people are civil and orderly. No properly established law of the colony has ever met with open opposition; no violence has ever been threatened to the lawful authorities. No instance of riot or general uncontrollable excitement has occurred, and no instance of open quarrelling or fistiuffs, has come to my knowledge, directly or indirectly, since the first establishment of the colony."

In tracing the progress of the Liberia colonies, the history of each successive year, has increased our conviction of the benefits and practicability of colonization. That a people just freed from slavery, unused to provide for their most common wants, unprepared by education and experience for self-government, unskilled in projecting or executing any enterprise which required patient perseverance, suffering and privation, placed on a distant shore, among a barbarous and hostile people, who sought their destruction, subjected to an acclimating sickness as debilitating as the fe-

vers of our western rivers are to the eastern emigrant—that they should have continued through all these embarrassments, steadily to improve their moral and physical condition, and not only supported the government, but ably conducted its administration, filling all the various offices, legislative, executive, judicial, ministerial and military, supporting schools, erecting churches—indeed, overcoming every difficulty, and becoming an elevated, moral, temperate and religious people, firmly established, and furnishing an inviting home to the colored man—not only excites our admiration, but constrains us to believe that the hand of the Lord is in this work, and that Africa is to be redeemed by COLONIZATION.

NOTE.—The history thus abruptly closed, would have been brought down to a later date, had intelligence, long expected from Liberia, been received.

## LIBERIA.

### *Territory, Soil, Productions, and Settlements.*

LIBERIA embraces that portion of the western coast of AFRICA which reaches from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of three hundred miles, and extends inland from 20 to 50 miles. Not that the Colonization Societies have any claim by purchase to the whole of that territory, or exercise any immediate jurisdiction over all its numerous tribes; but merely claim, by treaty with the natives, that no other nation shall purchase territory within their limits without the consent of the Society.

Liberia furnishes a variety of soil. On the coast it is generally sandy and light. Receding from the coast, the country is rolling, sometimes hilly. The soil is rich, producing good crops, even under the imperfect culture of the natives. The bottom lands are similar to those on the southern rivers of the United States. The country between the ocean and the first mountain range is well watered, having many fine running brooks in the driest season. Both the bottoms and uplands are generally covered with a heavy growth of timber, such as teak for ship building, mahogany, sulphur, and other woods for furniture, and various valuable dye-woods, particularly the camwood, which composes the entire growth of forests of many miles in extent, lying from 30 to 50 miles from the coast.

The great staple of agriculture is rice. It is generally sown on the uplands at the commencement of the rainy season, and great crops are obtained under slight cultivation. Probably in no country can rice be raised cheaper than in Africa, and as soon as agriculture is improved, it must become a great article of export.

Sugar cane and cotton are indigenous to the country, and nothing but cultivation is required to grow them in the greatest perfection.

The *Monrovia settlements* comprise the towns of Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell, Millsburg, and Marshall. Farther south 50 miles is the *Bassa Cove settlements* on the St. John's river, including Bassa Cove, Edina, and Bexley. About 100 miles still farther south, near the mouth of the river Sinoe, is the recent settlement of *Greenville*. At Cape Palmas, 280 miles from Monrovia, is the flourishing settlement of Maryland in Liberia.

*Cape Montserado*, the site of Monrovia, has always been an important point on the west coast of Africa, being easily recognised, and affording supplies of wood, water, and provisions to shipping. It is a bold rocky headland, in latitude 6 degrees, 29 minutes north, and in longitude 10 degrees 50 minutes west, covered before its occupancy with a dense forest growth, almost impenetrable from vines and brushwood. Its most elevated point nearly overhangs the sea, and is about 150 feet above its level. *Monrovia* occupies a plane about 80 feet lower, on the southwest side of the Montserado river. The population of Monrovia, including native residents, is stated at 1500. A considerable number of its early inhabitants have gone as pioneers to the other settlements, which have derived some of their best settlers from the acclimated citizens of the parent colony.

Most of the houses are frame, many with stone basements. There are ten or twelve two-story stone dwelling houses; several large warehouses and wharves, besides three large churches, two school-houses, a court-house and jail, are also built of stone, either granite or red sand stone, both of which are abundant and easily quarried. One of the school-houses was built at the expense of the Ladies' Liberia Education Society of Richmond, the other by the Methodist mission.

The town covers three square miles; the streets are laid off at right angles and are wide; the principal one, Broadway, being a hundred feet. The blocks consist of four lots of a quarter of an acre each. Most of the gardens in Monrovia are abundantly supplied with fruit trees which, in many instances, are enclosed by a white fence, while through their deep green foliage are seen the white painted houses of the citizens.

*New Georgia*, the settlement of recaptured Africans, is four miles from Monrovia. The streets are kept smooth and clean; the lots are fenced in with wild plum, and croton oil bush. The people seem contented and happy, attend church regularly, and are anxious to have their children educated. Magistrates and constables are annually appointed from among themselves, the dignity of which offices they prize much, and execute their duties faithfully, as far as they are able. During elections of officers, they may be seen attending the polls with all the bustle and activity of warm politicians. There are two churches in this settlement, and two schools; one under the care of the Methodist Episcopal mission, the other supported by the Ladies' Society, in Philadelphia.

*Caldwell* is situated on the south bank of the St. Paul's river, (which is here about a mile in width,) and extends 4 miles along its banks and on the Stockton creek. The lots are laid off similarly to those of Monrovia. The farms are placed around the outskirts of the town. It has two churches, and two schools; the latter under the same patronage as those in New Georgia.

Two large receptacles for emigrants are here erected by the Society. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in farming; and their comfort and independence are in proportion to their agricultural industry. Many are poor, raising only vegetables enough for their support; others are surrounded with abundance.

*Millsburg*, an agricultural settlement twelve miles higher up the St. Paul's, is a delightful residence. Besides the more common and necessary vegetables, of which they raise an abundance, there is, on several plantations, a large number of coffee trees, and the sugar cane growing thriftily. This place is esteemed so healthily that newly arrived emigrants, instead of being placed in receptacles for acclimation, are immediately settled on their farms, which run back from the river in strips of ten acres by one. Here is a manual labor school, besides other schools, and two churches.

*Marshall*, situated near the mouth of the Junk river, is a new settlement composed of recaptured Africans and some other emigrants. Their employment is farming, making lime from oyster shells, and trading with the natives. They have already a church built, and a school established.

*Edina* is on the north side of the St. John's river, near its entrance into the sea. It has two churches, two schools for colonists supported by the Ladies' Society of Philadelphia, and a school for native boys chiefly, under the care of the Baptist mission, whose principal station is at Edina. The Baptists have here erected a house of worship under a large tree, beneath which human sacrifices were once offered to the devil. The state of society is good, and the inhabitants are all anxious to have their children educated.

*Bassa Cove* is on the opposite side of the river from Edina, about a mile distant. The people apply themselves industriously to agriculture, are temperate and prosperous. They have a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Presbyterian church. A Sunday school is connected with each, embracing, besides the children of the colonists, several natives. A day school is supported by the Ladies' Society of Philadelphia. A lyceum was established here by Mr. Buchanan for the mutual improvement of the young men of the village. This settlement has a court-house and jail.

*Cape Palmas* is one of the most prominent headlands on the western coast of Africa. The settlement of *Maryland in Liberia*, which is established here, extends about four miles inland. The principal village is *Harper*.

The Presbyterian mission, under Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, has been established some years, and great good has resulted from their persevering and devoted labors. Mr. Wilson has two schools under his care, with three colored assistants, one at Brock Town and one at Cavally, besides that at his own residence. Two churches are built, and exercises are performed regularly at Mount Vaughan, the

residence of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary. There are three other schools in the town for the colonists; one of the school houses has been built, at the expense of the Ladies' Liberian Education Society of Baltimore, for a very competent colored preacher and his wife.

A very fine road has been made for nine miles inland, and it is intended to be carried to Deh-neh, the Episcopal mission station in the interior, about 60 miles. A law was passed by Mr. Russwurm, that eighteen months after the passing of the act, no officer should hold a commission who could not read and write. The consequence of which is that those now in office not possessed of the necessary qualifications, are studying hard to acquire them.

It is estimated that the various settlements contain a population of more than 5,000. There are 18 churches in Liberia. Of these, eight are Baptist, six Methodist, three Presbyterian, and one Episcopalian. As there are 40 clergymen in the colonies, all the churches are not only regularly supplied with preaching, but religious meetings are held weekly in many of the native villages.

The general tone of society is religious; the state of morals good. Sabbath breaking, drunkenness, profanity, and quarrelling are very rare in Liberia. There are ten weekly day-schools in all the settlements, supported generally by education and missionary societies in the United States. The teachers, in most cases, are colored persons. A laudable desire for knowledge pervades the community. They desire to have an academic institution in the colony, but do not feel themselves able to establish one without aid.

There are at present about 30 white persons connected with the various missionary and education societies, or attached to the colonies as physicians.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LIBERIA is well situated for carrying on a large trade with the interior of Africa. The colonists, with very few exceptions, were, on their arrival, destitute of property, having but a scanty supply of the commonest articles for household use and agricultural purposes. Many of them, although thus destitute of capital, engaged in trade with a very limited credit, and have continued their barter with the natives until they have become independent. For several years they have been prosecuting a profitable coasting trade, in which is employed about twenty vessels, of from five to forty tons burthen, built and fitted out by themselves. This trade extends along the coast for about seven hundred miles. Their goods are purchased from British and American vessels visiting Monrovia, but principally from the former, consisting of coarse cottons, broadcloths, East India goods, beads, knives, hatchets, crockery ware, iron pots, and tobacco. The articles received in exchange from the natives, are camwood, ivory, palm oil, gold dust, and various valuable gums. These articles are again exchanged for new supplies of goods. The Liberian trader, forced to pay high prices for goods, and take low prices for his produce, realizes but a small portion of the profit. This evil he must submit to, until communications with the United States become more frequent, so as to enable him to forward his produce and receive his goods in return. The highest price he receives from the British for his camwood is fifty dollars per ton, paid in goods at from 100 to 150 per cent. advance on first cost, while he could realize in the United States for his camwood, seventy dollars per ton, clear of commission.

The slavers who swarm on the coast of Africa, and frequently commit acts of piracy, have rendered the trade too hazardous to be prosecuted by the Americans, whose flag, for some years, has been left unprotected on that coast. A few American merchants, tempted by the extraordinary profits of a voyage, if successful, are engaged in that trade, which is almost wholly monopolized by the British, and which they are fast extending into the centre of Africa, from Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, and the Gambia, and, also, by the recently discovered route of the Niger. From those points, large quantities of British goods are annually carried far into the interior, by colonial and native traders, and the most portable and valuable produce received in return.

The British receive from Africa the teakwood for ship building, and large quantities of other valuable woods for furniture. This trade is protected by numerous cruisers, and is annually increasing. Some idea of its importance may be formed from the fact, that there was imported into Liverpool alone, in 1834, 12,000 tons of palm oil; the same year a single house imported 300 tons of camwood; and another house imported in three years gums to the amount of \$300,000.

This trade, which gives employ to so large an amount of British shipping, and furnishes a market for so large a quantity of her manufactures, can, to a great extent, be secured, through the colony of Liberia, to the United States. All that is required is protection to our flag on the African coast, and capital in the hands of the Liberian merchants, many of whom have evinced both the skill and integrity to conduct trade on the most extended scale.

With constitutions adapted to that climate, and a similarity of color with the natives, the Liberian can penetrate the interior with safety, and prosecute his trade in the bays and rivers of the coast, without suffering from the diseases which are so fatal to the white man. Freed from the risks of life to which the white man is exposed, he will be enabled greatly to reduce the price of goods to the natives, and thereby draw to Liberia a large part of the trade which now goes into the hands of the British.

With stores well supplied with goods appropriate to the trade, located at the several important settlements in Liberia, the trade would increase rapidly with the interior, and soon, in the opinion of those well acquainted with the country, would amount to a million of dollars annually. It is not, however, to a coasting or barter trade alone, profitable as it is, and favorably situated as she is to improve it, that Liberia looks for the means to sustain her commerce, it is her agriculture and her forests. The whole country will produce rice, which must soon make a large item in her export trade.

The coffee tree abounds in the forest, and can be obtained and planted out as cheaply as any of the shrubs in America. It will produce in five years. Samples which have been sent to New York, are pronounced, by judges, to be equal to the finest Mocha. The palm tree, which abounds in Western Africa, and in many places, is found in dense forests, to the exclusion of other timber, furnishes a nut from which oil may be extracted in any desired quantity. It is now manufactured by the rudest process by the natives, and sold for about twenty-five cents a gallon.

When suitable machinery shall be introduced for its manufacture, it can be produced at half that price.

What an inviting field is here opened to the enterprising colored man of the United States. Could it be safely occupied by the hardy sons of New England, who engage in the lumbering, fishing, and whaling business, how soon would they leave those laborious employments and make the forests of Africa yield more oil than is obtained from all the whales in the Pacific. But Providence has decreed the riches of Africa to the colored man.

The camwood districts in Liberia lie from 35 to 50 miles from the coast, and are contiguous to navigable rivers. An intelligent gentleman, who explored one of these districts lying near the St. John's, says, that the improvement of the navigation and the opening of a road to the camwood forest can be done at a small expense, and by the use of suitable boats and teams, the wood can be transported and delivered at the Bassa harbor for \$15 per ton, in quantities sufficient to supply all the demands of commerce. That now obtained is transported from the forest on the backs of slaves.

From the favorable geographical location of Liberia, her fertile soil, the industry and enterprise of her citizens, the elevating influence of her free and christian institutions, is she not destined to develope the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa, while she is the means of regenerating her benighted millions.

## AMENDED CONSTITUTION AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The American Colonization Society, under whose direction and management the colonies in Liberia were founded, was organized in December, 1816. The scheme of Colonization was popular, and as the Society extended its operations, a large portion of the citizens of the United States gave it their confidence and support. State, country and town societies, auxiliary to the parent society, were formed in nearly every State in the Union. The officers of the auxiliary societies, by the constitution, were members of the parent Institution, and each individual contributing one dollar to the funds of the society, was entitled to a vote in the election of officers. The constitution underwent various amendments, but the Managers were still chosen at the annual meetings of the society, and were charged with the duty of appointing the officers of the society, and the agents and officers for the colonies, as well as with the entire management of all matters relating

to the affairs of the society in the United States. Many of them were the most distinguished men of our country, and although their labors were arduous, their services were rendered gratuitously. Many unexpected difficulties were encountered. Establishing a colony on so distant and unfrequented a shore, in the midst of a barbarous people, without an armed force to protect it, was a bold experiment.— Its success has been triumphant. The blessings which it has already conferred, and the far more extended blessings which it promises, fully proves the wisdom of those who planned, and the perseverance of those who have conducted the Colonization enterprise.

Although it is not claimed that the affairs of the society have, at all times, been conducted in the best possible manner, it is less remarkable that errors should have been committed, both in plan and execution, than that such uniform success should have attended their operations, which not only required political wisdom, but a degree of commercial and financial skill, which the Board could not always command.

The Maryland State Colonization Society, for causes to which we will not now refer, withdrew her support from the American Colonization Society, and resolved to establish a colony in Liberia, to which should be sent such free people of color, of that State, as wished to emigrate. Soon after, the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, were induced to establish a separate colony.

The New York City Colonization Society united with the latter, under the active agency of E. R. Proudfit, the funds of the State were brought to their aid.— Subsequently, the Mississippi State Colonization Society established a colony independent of the American Colonization Society.

Thus, in 1838, there were four distinct colonies in Liberia, independent of, and unconnected with each other.

The friends of Colonization generally, and particularly those responsible for the management of the several societies, felt the importance of uniting, by such political and commercial relations, as would secure peace and harmony between the several colonies in Africa, and promote the general prosperity of the whole. Much diversity of opinion prevailed as to the best means of accomplishing this object.

The Maryland Colonization Society, proposed that the same flag and currency should be adopted by all the colonies, fugitives from justice surrendered, reciprocal revenue and commercial relations adopted, &c. &c. But wished to retain the control of all matters relating to their own colony, until their people should be educated, and in all respects better qualified to assume and sustain the responsibilities of a free people.

The Managers of the other societies wished to carry the union of colonial interest much farther, and some who had been the warmest advocates of separate state action and independent colonies, now believed the whole system wrong, as it tended to distract and disunite the friends of the cause, and greatly increased the expense of carrying on Colonization operations in this country. Each State society, which had a colony in Africa to provide for, required as many and as competent officers to direct its business, as was required to conduct the Colonization operations for the whole United States, and the expanse of administering the government of each separate colony, would be as great as that of the whole united colonies.

As a free republic was contemplated in Liberia by all the friends of Colonization, it was due to the people who were to comprise it, to intrust as much power in their hands at once, as they could use profitably and safely, and thus enable them to acquire experience in all the various branches of self-government, and also to prevent the formation of sectional jealousies, prejudices and preferences, which it would be difficult to eradicate. To bring the separate settlements together by their delegates, to legislate for Liberia as a State, would make them acquainted with each others wants and resources, and their capability of improvement. They would have one system of laws, civil, commercial and military—one uniform system governing their intercourse with the natives—one executive head, and could go on improving, until the people became sufficiently numerous, and were in all other respects in a condition to dispense with the guardianship of their American patrons.

Those who preferred united action in Liberia, finding their views sustained by many of the most talented and experienced colonists, and others who had been agents and governors of the colonies, proposed a convention of delegates from the American Colonization Society, the Maryland Colonization Society, and the New York and Pennsylvania Colonization Society, to meet at Philadelphia, in September, 1838.

The proposition was favorably received, and a convention was held at the time and place proposed. A general plan of union was agreed upon, (Maryland declining to be a party,) and submitted to the several societies for their consideration. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington in December, in which all the societies interested were fully represented, this plan was discussed, and with little alteration, adopted.

It is believed that the late changes in the organization of the society, will prove highly advantageous. All conflicting interests between the several societies will be harmonized, and the wisdom and the power of the State societies embodied in the American Colonization Society. Thus sustained, its operations must proceed with increased energy.

The Directors being composed of delegates from the State Societies, will feel a more direct responsibility, than if appointed as heretofore. And being distributed in the several States, will be able to represent the wishes and views of the friends of Colonization generally, and be the medium of communication between the society and its patrons.

It is hoped that every State in the Union will be represented by their delegates in the Board.

This society furnishes neutral ground, on which the North and the South may meet and unite their labors to produce a voluntary separation of the free colored people from among the white race, where they are deprived of those social and civil privileges essential to the elevation of the human mind, and establish them in the land of their fathers, "where all circumstances favor their elevation, and all motives stir them to duty." To enlighten Africa, to change her barbarous and enslaved to an educated and christian population, to establish in that dark quarter of the globe a free republic, an asylum to which the despoiled children of Africa may return, this is a field of benevolence in which the christian and philanthropist of every section of our country may unite, and make the society be emphatically what its name imports, **THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**

The society is now in operation under the amended constitution. A constitution for the united colonies, under the name and style of the **COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA**, was prepared by the Directors, who appointed Thomas Buchanan, Esq. of Philadelphia, Governor. He had resided a year in Liberia, as Governor of Bassa Cove, where he was beloved by the colonists, and respected by the native kings. Entire devotedness to the cause of Colonization, united to courtesy, piety, firmness, and a correct and comprehensive judgment, qualifies him for the station to which he is chosen. It is believed a more competent man could not be found to preside over the interests of Liberia, and carry into operation the provisions of the new constitution. Mr. Buchanan sailed in February, from Norfolk, in the ship *Saluda*. His arrival in Monrovia, which is to be the seat of government, must give a new impulse to the colonies, as through the liberal policy of the government, he was furnished with a much needed supply of arms, ammunition, cannon, naval boats, &c., and was provided by the society with a large quantity of trade goods, agricultural implements, a sugar mill, &c., also, means of obtaining, at the Cape de Verd islands, a supply of working animals, the want of which has so greatly retarded agricultural operations in the colony.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA.

*Adopted by the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, January 5, 1839.*

**THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY** hereby grants to the colonies or settlements in Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, under its care, the following Constitution:

**ARTICLE 1.** The colonies or settlements of Monrovia; New Georgia, Caldwell, Millsburg, Marshall, Bexley, Bassa Cove, and Edina, and such other Colonies hereafter established by this Society, or by Colonization Societies adopting the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, on the Western coast of Africa, are hereby united into one Government, under the name and style of the Commonwealth of Liberia.

*Legislative Power.*

**ART. 2.** All Legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Governor and Council of Liberia; but all laws by them enacted shall be subject to the revocation of the American Colonization Society.

**ART. 3.** The Council shall consist of representatives to be elected by the people of the several colonies or settlements and shall be apportioned among them according to a just ratio of representation. Until otherwise provided, Monrovia New Georgia, Caldwell, and Millsburg, shall be entitled to six representatives; and Marshall, Bexley, Bassa Cove, and Edina, to four representatives; to be apportioned among them by the Governor.

**ART. 4.** The representatives shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arresting during their attendance at the session of the Council, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate therein, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

**ART. 5.** Until otherwise provided by law, the Governor shall appoint and publish the times, places, and manner, of holding elections, and making returns thereof, and the same for the meeting of the Council.

**ART. 6.** The Governor shall preside at the deliberations of the Council, and shall have a veto on all their acts.

**ART. 7.** A Colonial Secretary shall be appointed by the Governor; and it shall be the duty of such Colonial Secretary to record in a book or books, all the official acts and proceedings of the Governor, of the Council, and of the Governor and Council; to secure and preserve the same carefully; and to transmit a copy of each of such acts or proceedings to the American Colonization Society, from time to time. Provided, however, that such acts and proceedings be so transmitted at least once a year.

**ART. 8.** A great seal shall be provided for the Commonwealth of Liberia, whereby the official and public acts of the Governor shall be authenticated; and the custody of the said seal shall be committed to the Colonial Secretary.

**ART. 9.** The Governor and Council shall have power to provide a uniform system of military tactics and discipline: to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Commonwealth:

To declare war in self-defence:

To make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To make treaties with the several African tribes, and to prescribe rules for regulating the commerce between the Commonwealth of Liberia and such tribes; except that all treaties for the acquisition of lands shall be subject to the approval of the American Colonization Society:

To prescribe uniform laws of naturalization for all persons of color. All persons now citizens of any part of the Commonwealth of Liberia shall continue to be so, and all colored persons emigrating from the United States of America, or any District or Territory thereof, with the approbation, or under the sanction of the American Colonization Society; or of any Society auxiliary to the same, or of any State Colonization Society of the United States, which shall have adopted the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of Liberia; except the same shall have been lost or forfeited, by conviction of some crime.

*Executive Power.*

**ART. 10.** The Executive power shall be vested in a Governor of Liberia, to be appointed by, and to hold his office during the pleasure of, the American Colonization Society.

**ART. 11.** The Governor shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Militia of the Commonwealth; he shall have power to call the Militia or any portion thereof into actual service, whenever the public exigency shall require; and he shall have the appointment of all military and naval officers, except the captains and subalterns of militia companies, who may be elected by their respective companies.

**ART. 12.** The lands owned by the Society, and all other property belonging to the Society, and in the Commonwealth, shall be under the exclusive control of the Governor and such agents as he may appoint under the direction of the Society.

**ART. 13.** The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, shall ap-



point all officers, whose appointment or election is not otherwise specially provided for in this Constitution.

ART. 14. There shall be a Lieutenant Governor, who shall be elected by the people in such manner as shall be provided by law. He shall exercise the office of Governor, in case of a vacancy in that office, occasioned by the Governor's death or resignation, or in case the Governor shall delegate to him the temporary authority of Governor during the Governor's absence or sickness.

### *Judicial Power.*

ART. 15. The judicial power of the Commonwealth of Liberia shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Governor and Council may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The Governor shall be, *ex officio*, Chief Justice of Liberia, and as such shall preside in the Supreme Court, which shall have only appellate jurisdiction. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, except the Chief Justice, shall hold their offices during good behavior.

ART. 16. A code or uniform system of civil and criminal law, shall be provided by the American Colonization Society for the Commonwealth of Liberia.

ART. 17. The present criminal laws in force in the several colonies or settlements now forming the Commonwealth of Liberia, and such others as may, from time to time, be enacted, shall constitute the criminal code of the Commonwealth. Such parts of the common law as set forth in Blackstone's Commentaries, as may be applicable to the situation of the people, except as changed by the laws now in force, and such as may hereafter be enacted, shall be the civil code of law for the Commonwealth.

### *Miscellaneous.*

ART. 18. A great seal shall be provided for the Colonies, whereby the official and private acts of the Governor shall be authenticated, and the custody thereof shall be committed to the Colonial Secretary.

ART. 19. Until otherwise provided by law, the Commonwealth of Liberia shall be divided into counties, as follows: Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell and Millsburg, shall constitute one county, under the name of the county of *Montserado*; and Bassa Cove, Edina, Bexley, and Marshall, shall constitute the other county, under the name of the county of *Grand Bassa*.

ART. 20. There shall be no slavery in the Commonwealth.

ART. 21. There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same.

ART. 22. Emigration shall not be prohibited.

ART. 23. The right of trial by jury, and the right of petition, shall be inviolate.

ART. 24. No person shall be debarred from prosecuting or defending any civil cause for or against himself or herself, before any tribunal in the Commonwealth, by himself or herself or counsel.

ART. 25. Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years shall have the right of suffrage.

ART. 26. All elections shall be by ballot.

ART. 27. The military shall at all times, and in all cases, be in subjection to the civil power.

ART. 28. Agriculture, the mechanic arts, and manufactures, shall be encouraged within the Commonwealth; and commerce shall be promoted by such methods as shall tend to develop the agricultural resources of the Commonwealth, advance the moral social and political interests of the people, increase their strength, and accelerate and firmly establish and secure their national independence.

ART. 29. The standards of weight, measure and money, used and approved by the Government of the United States of America, are hereby adopted as the standards of weight, measure and money within the Commonwealth of Liberia. But the Governor and Council shall have power to settle the value of the actual currency of the Commonwealth, according to the metallic currency of the United States of America.